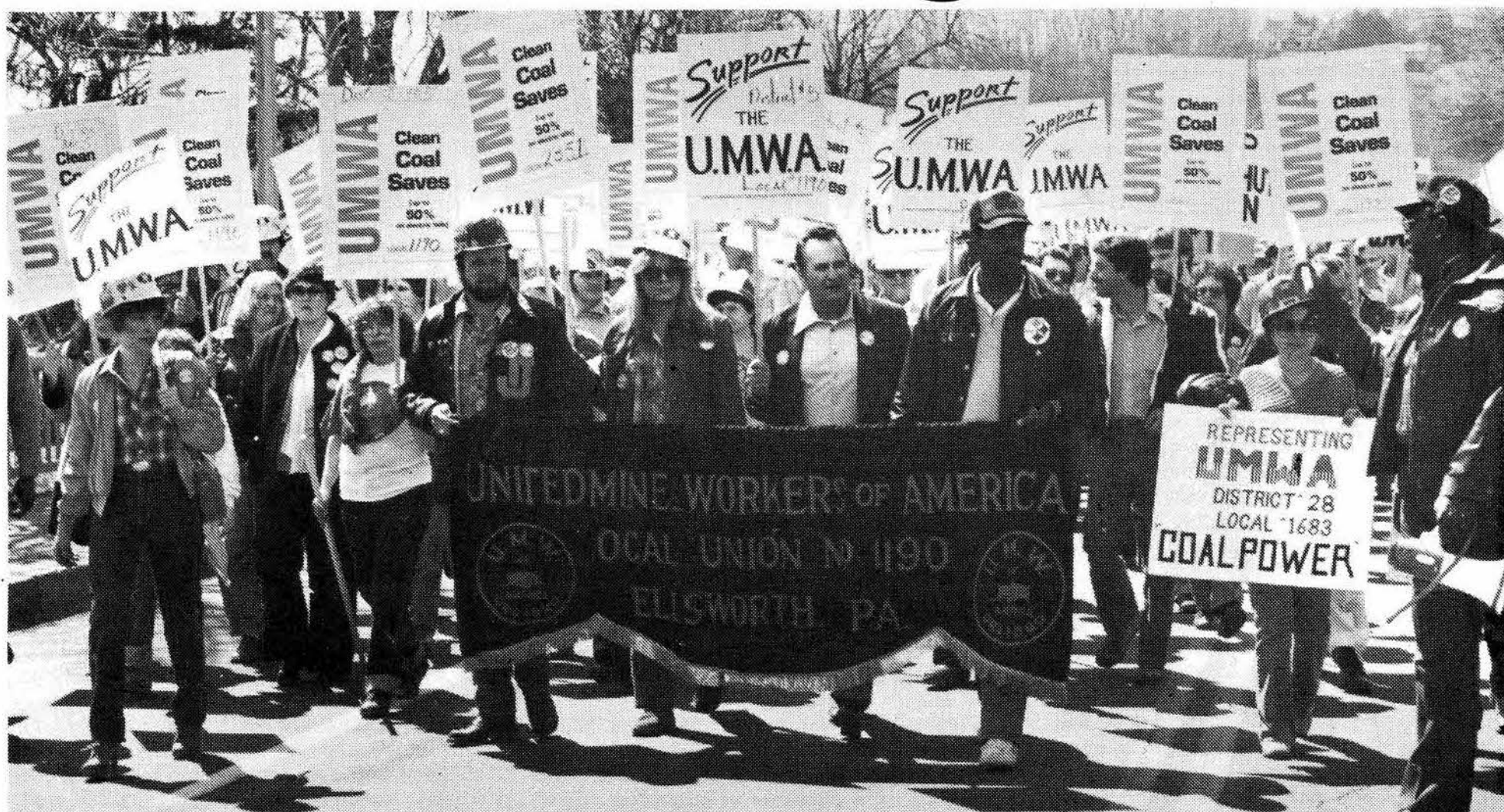


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Miners & rail workers take on Reaganism



Militant/Stu Singer

● April 29 protest to hit cuts in Conrail, Amtrak

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● Coal strike solid: 'Union is at stake'

—PAGE 5

Government secret police on trial

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—Something remarkable is going on in Room 302 of the federal court building on Foley Square.

Most of the time during the first days of the trial that opened here April 2, it seemed as if you were in a class on the basics of socialism.

But what is taking place is a profound political clash.

On one side are those fighting for the right to voice and apply the ideas of socialism, of Marxism. On the other are those defending the vested interests of the wealthy minority and the political police apparatus set up to guard their privileges.

Some people had been waiting almost eight years for the trial of the Socialist

Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying and harassment.

Right up until the hour it began they didn't know exactly what to expect.

By the end of the first day it had become clear that the government was reeling from the socialist strategy in the courtroom.

Back in the 1950s, the big old courthouse was the site of some of the most notorious anticommunist frame-ups. Here the Rosenbergs were sentenced to death. Communist Party leaders were sentenced to years in prison.

But now it's the 1980s, and the government is the defendant.

The building is old, but the courtrooms

have been remodeled in a contemporary style.

Each day supporters of the socialist suit pack the fifty or so seats in the spectators section. Others are forced to stand or sit on the floor.

Auto workers from New York and New Jersey come by to watch before or after work, depending on their shift. Some striking coal miners from West Virginia came up to find out what's going on and to take reports back.

The first order of business was the opening statement by the plaintiffs, the socialists. Followed by the defendants, the government. (See story inside.)

"First witness," calls Judge Thomas Griesa.

Continued on page 7

What socialist workers stand for

Testimony of Farrell Dobbs—Pages 19-25

High stakes in miners' strike

The following statement was issued April 7 by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The most important battle in the American class struggle today is the fight by the United Mine Workers in defense of their union and for a decent contract.

They are standing up to an effort by the mineowners—big oil, big steel, electric power companies, and banks—to impose contract provisions that would weaken the union and expand nonunion mining operations.

The miners' fight is in the lead of resistance to reduced living standards and slashes in social services that the Reagan administration and big business are trying to shove down our throats. Miners have led the way in challenging the administration budget with their two-day political strike and March 9 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against cuts in black lung benefits.

The miners' strike is, in reality, challenging attempts to make working people pay for massive increases in the military budget and for U.S. support to the blood-drenched dictatorship in El Salvador.

It is a battle against the price-gouging energy monopolies, which seek a tighter stranglehold over fuel supplies.

The employers are out to break this resistance. But the miners are fighting back. They identify strongly with the courage and unity of their brothers and sisters in Poland.

A victory for the miners will strengthen the hand of all intended victims of the big-business/government offensive: Auto workers facing unemployment and takeback contracts. Youth threatened with the draft. Women fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights. Blacks under siege by racist killers.

Everyone has a stake in this fight.

Supporting the miners should become a top priority for all working people. And above all, for the industrial unions, which have a big stake in stopping the push to expand nonunion coal. The employers want a "union-free environment." The miners want to preserve and strengthen their union.

The miners' determination is helping inspire resistance to the employer-government ripoff

of working people.

The Railway Labor Executives Association, comprising all the major rail unions, has called protest demonstrations for April 29 in Washington, D.C., and other cities against the administration's move to cut funds for Conrail.

Every union member, every victim of budget cuts, every opponent of racism, and every supporter of the miners should join the rail workers in Washington.

All out for the miners! All out April 29!

One-sided 'great debate'

Remember the "great debate" over the Reagan budget that was supposed to take place in Congress? It ended before it began.

On April 2 the U.S. Senate voted 88-10 to approve a \$36.9 billion reduction in social programs and public services, nearly \$3 billion more than Reagan had asked for. The great majority of Democratic senators, including liberals like Senators Moynihan of New York and Bradley of New Jersey, joined the Republican majority in voting for massive cuts.

The "debate" then shifted to the House. Here the Democrats, being a majority, felt obliged to put up a show of opposition.

Seventeen of the nineteen Democrats on the House Budget Committee announced April 6 that they had an alternative to the Reagan budget. Their proposal would chop only 10 to 12 percent out of social services, they said, instead of the 25 percent cut they said Reagan had recommended.

They pointed with pride to the cut of "only" 10 percent in funding for education.

The legislators acted as though they were doing us all a big favor in proposing cuts of "only" \$1 billion each in food stamps, child nutrition, and assistance for the poor in paying heating bills.

The April 7 *New York Times* reported: "In Social Security, the \$122 a month minimum benefit would be eliminated, but only for new beneficiaries in the fiscal year 1982, and for all beneficiaries the next year."

The administration, on the other hand,

wants to abolish the minimum benefit for all in 1982.

The Democrats said their proposal would cut the military appropriation by \$4.3 billion from what Reagan recommended. But in fact they recommended spending \$1 billion more on arms than Reagan had asked for.

Of course the liberal Democrats' "alternative" is only a proposal. It will be horse-traded in the Budget Committee, on the House floor, and in a joint conference committee of the Senate and House.

What will be adopted in the end will be whatever big business wants, and thinks it can get away with.

For that is how all "great debates" turn out under the capitalist two-party system.

House Democrats hope this cynical operation will preserve enough of the image of being friends of labor and the Black community to get them reelected in 1982, whatever happens to the budget.

And working people have no one to represent us in Congress as our most vital needs are being trampled underfoot. The need for the unions to break with the Democrats and Republicans and form a labor party was never clearer.

The bipartisan offensive against workers is forcing the unions to take some independent actions in defense of their interests.

About 8,000 miners marched on Washington March 9 to protest the attempt to cut black lung benefits. Ten international unions and the National Education Association sponsored the March 28 demonstration for jobs and against nuclear power.

The miners are now striking to preserve their union.

And the rail unions are organizing protest demonstrations in Washington and other cities April 29 to protest massive cuts in funding for the railroads.

These actions are beginning to attract support and sympathy that go far beyond the ranks of union members—from the Black and Latino communities, to the unemployed, youth, and others. They look to the unions as a force capable of defending them against Reagan's plans.

These actions are steps along the road of mobilizing labor's enormous potential power to defend the interests of all working people, independent of the fakers on both sides of the aisle in both houses of Congress.

It is the road to victory.

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Who's responsible for the violence in Northern Ireland?

An exchange of letters between the British government and the Socialist Workers Party. Page 10.

The Militant

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Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Rail unions map actions for April 29th

By William Gottlieb

Large meetings of railroad workers are taking place across the country to prepare for the April 29 demonstrations against cutbacks, called by the Railway Labor Executives Association.

Protesting Reagan's proposed reduction of federal financing for the Conrail and Amtrak lines, the association has called for a march on Washington April 29, to assemble at 11 a.m. at Union Station and then march to the Capitol.

According to the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) press office, actions are also scheduled that day for Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, New Orleans, and Jacksonville, Florida.

In Philadelphia, 1,500 rail workers attended an April 3 meeting called by BRAC to build April 29. BRAC members were joined at the meeting by members of the United Transportation Union and other rail unions.

The day before in Baltimore, 250 workers participated in a meeting called by BRAC. All Conrail employees were invited to the gathering regardless of craft. Workers said in the discussion they saw the April 29 action as similar to the United Mine Workers March 9 demonstration in Washington against cuts in black lung benefits.

Meetings were also held in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Providence, Rhode Island.

At the March 28 demonstration against nuclear power in Harrisburg,

Pennsylvania, Donald Sweitzer of BRAC invited all people there to join the April 29 demonstration. "We must fight nuclear power together," he said. "We must fight the Reagan budget cuts together."

Sweitzer emphasized the close ties between rail workers and miners. "I extend to you and to this demonstration the good wishes and support of the men and women who work on the railroads in this country; the men and women who run the trains and who haul the coal that you mine workers mine."

Speakers announced thus far for the April 29 action in Washington are Fred Kroll, president of BRAC, and Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO.

Unions in rail association

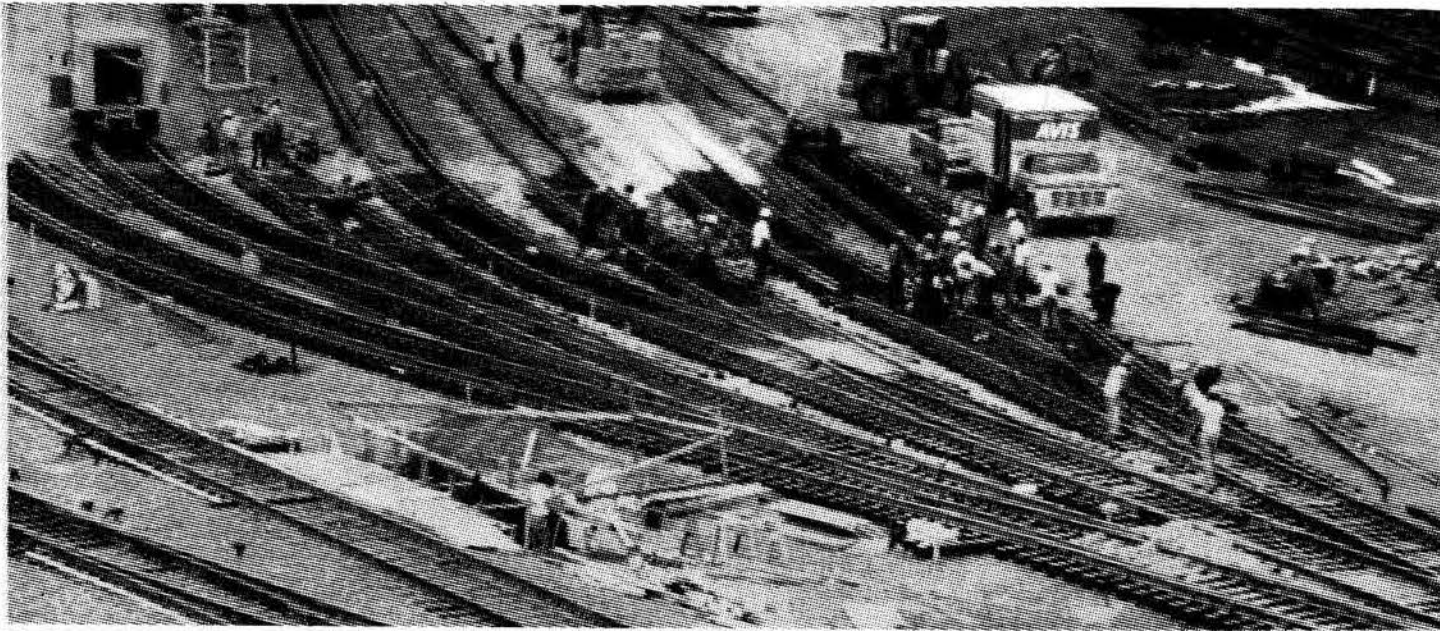
The Railway Labor Executives Association is an organization of twenty unions. These unions have a membership of several million. The association reports that the following unions are members:

United Transportation Union, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, American Railway and Airway Supervisors Association (Division of BRAC), American Train Dispatchers Association, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers;

Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, International Brotherhood of Boiler-makers and Blacksmiths;

International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, International Longshoremen's Association, International Organization of Mates and Pilots of America;

Seafarers International Union of North America, National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, Railroad Yard Masters of America, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, Transportation Workers Union of America.



Work crews in Conrail's Dewitt yard near Syracuse. If cutbacks go through, tens of thousands of workers will lose their jobs.

Conrail boss unveils new antilabor offensive

By William Gottlieb

In his March 15 report to Congress, Conrail chief L. Stanley Crane proposes a major attack on railroad labor.

In order to make Conrail, a government-financed corporation, again profitable for multimillionaire capitalist investors, Crane insists on a reduction of \$300 million annually in the payments that are made to railroad workers. He insists that labor agree to a \$200 million a year reduction as a "start" toward the \$300 million a year goal in the 1981 contract. The Conrail chief also wants to slash 10,000 employees and accelerate speed-up beyond the previously-negotiated level.

Crane proposes various ways in which these anti-labor objectives can be realized. He writes, "Such negotiations can generate savings of the magnitude required through a variety of alternative wage and work rule conditions. A wage freeze of limited duration is one such alternative. For example, if Conrail had been permitted to withhold the wage increases provided for in the first 18 months of the 1978 agreement, \$208 million would have been saved during that period."

Or, the Conrail boss says, the hours

of labor could be lengthened. "Modification of fringe benefits now provided for in collective agreements, such as forgoing one week of vacation per employee and passing two holidays per year, could produce savings on the order of \$51 million per year."

And he does not forget the possibilities of layoffs and more radical speed-up measures. "Substantial savings also could be obtained from reduced employment levels permitted by work rule changes. For example, an ambitious program of changes in current agreements and practices could produce savings on the order of \$100 to \$200 million per year. Conrail's management, like all managements, desires such changes. However, it must be realized that achieving \$200 million per year in savings through work rules alone would involve substantial change in existing agreements such as elimination of craft distinctions and operational changes such as using remote controlled engines in yard and road service."

Conrail wants to weasel out of the agreements it made to compensate laid-off workers. In Crane's words, "The irony is that Conrail's efforts to

improve productivity are counterproductive insofar as its Title V liability is concerned. As Conrail becomes more efficient, as more branch lines are abandoned or an effort is made to rationalize the Conrail system, more employees will be furloughed and more employee protection liability will be incurred. Conrail cannot bear these additional costs."

Along with these vicious attacks on railroad workers, Crane proposes to dump Conrail's commuter services. "It is recommended that passenger rail services and related employees in the northeast region (excluding employees working in Amtrak's Off-Corridor Services) be transferred to organizations responsive to the beneficiaries of such service, and that such organizations (including Amtrak) be permitted to negotiate labor agreements related to their requirements." In other words, zap rail workers engaged in passenger services and the public be damned.

Crane makes no bones about his union-busting intentions. "Either Conrail must be permitted to take a strike of significant duration without government intervention, with this posture to be made known well in advance, or the

government must be prepared to intervene at an appropriate time to determine the components of a contribution package for any union which is unwilling to negotiate such a package."

Crane's proposals are "moderate" compared to the ideas of the Reagan administration. Reagan wants to sell off the government-funded Conrail lines to private railroad companies. To the extent that these railroad corporations find the lines unprofitable they would be closed. This idea amounts to the looting of the public treasury by railroad bosses.

Billions in public funds have been poured into modernizing the railroad that the previous corporate owners had allowed to run down. This new equipment will now be sold to private companies for a song.

The railroad workers are far from helpless. The basic strength of rail labor stems from the absolute necessity of railroads for the U.S. economy. While the bosses and the government want to close down some of the Conrail system, they cannot close down all of it. And the initial response to April 29 shows that powerful allies will be drawn into the fight.

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Lessons from UMW history

Cuba's Radio Havana on miners' union

On March 27 the Cuban station Radio Havana broadcast an English-language program on the struggle of the United Mine Workers union in the United States. Following are major excerpts from the text of the program, aired on the opening day of the UMW strike. Some portions were deleted where words were inaudible.

In 1935 the UMW was the largest and most powerful industrial union in the U.S. Coal miners were the only workers who successfully organized racially integrated locals in the South before 1900, and became the first industrial workers to establish the eight-hour day in 1898.

After it had been almost destroyed in the 1920s, the UMW reorganized itself between 1933 and 1935 and became the backbone for the founding of the CIO. Coal miners provided both money and organizers for a drive to unionize the nation's basic industries. Miners were among the few workers who fought their employers openly during World War II.

There are two major UMW strikes in recent history of tremendous political importance. In 1969 and 1978 coal miners took on every issue of concern to U.S. workers: Health, safety, benefits, wages, inflation, and especially the viability of the rank-and-file movement in the survival of a strong trade union.

In February and March 1969, West Virginia miners led the way when 95 percent of the state's 25,000 miners stayed out of the pits for more than three weeks. They forced the state legislature to pass a new coal mine health and safety law.

Later that year President Richard Nixon considered vetoing the National Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. But miners threatened another strike and forced him to sign the historic law, which, for the first time, provided compensation to victims of black lung disease.

Rank-and-file movement

The Black Lung Association, which rank-and-file miners formed in January 1969 to sponsor and push for the West Virginia law, soon became an advocate for the interests of working and retired miners within a union whose leaders had sold out to the companies.

The strike also inspired Joseph "Jock" Yablonski to challenge Tony Boyle for the union's presidency. Running on the slogan "Boyle's in bed



Support rally in Pittsburgh for United Mine Workers during 1978 strike. 'Coal Miners were fighting for the very existence of their union and every other union in the nation.'

with the coal operators," Yablonski ran a strong campaign and vowed to continue the fight beyond the December elections. He was assassinated by Boyle-hired gunmen on the last of the year, but at his funeral, Miners for Democracy was formed.

In June 1970, a third rank-and-file organization was born out of another strike in southern West Virginia, the Disabled Miners and Widows of Southern West Virginia.

Miners For Democracy victory

These three groups united to back the Miners for Democracy slate at a West Virginia convention in May 1972. In December UMW members elected nine rank-and-file miners [from the MFD slate] to the international office for the first time in the union's history.

The union was tremendously strengthened by the electoral victory. Now all officers in the union's twenty-one districts must answer to the rank and file at election time. Under Boyle, only four districts had full autonomy.

The 1972 MFD slate stood on a platform which called for election of district officials and executive board members, rank-and-file ratification of contracts, no firings for refusal to work in unsafe conditions, a full-time safety committeeman in each mine, national and district support of local disputes, no discrimination in hiring and firing, uniform enforcement of the contract, increased pensions for retired miners, and responsible management of the welfare funds. It also pledged to reduce

the salaries of top union officials.

Boyle was ousted by MFD candidate Arnold Miller, a victim of black lung and a former miner, an electrician with twenty-four years on the job. A new regime set in.

In 1974, miners voted to ratify their contract for the first time in the union's eighty-four-year history. A small group of hand-picked negotiators could no longer sell out the interests of thousands of miners in smoke-filled rooms, hundreds of miles from the coal fields.

Coal miners continued to demonstrate their militancy during the summers of 1975, '76, and '77. Local disputes, which began in southern West Virginia in 1975 and 1976, flared up into coal-field-wide strikes both years, because miners were so dissatisfied with the way the operators were refusing to deal with grievances at the mines. Instead of discussing disputes, the companies tried to force miners back to work with federal injunctions, fines, arrests, and threatened firings.

1976 strike

In 1975, 80,000 miners struck. In 1976, 120,000 did—nearly every union miner east of the Mississippi. The 1976 strike was so effective that federal judges in Charleston withdrew their fines and injunctions, an event almost unique in modern labor history.

Then in 1977, miners struck again in protest over cutbacks in their medical benefits, so important in a dangerous industry centered in southern Appalachia, where hospitals refuse to admit patients without cash on the spot to pay for emergency care.

Then in 1978, the UMW strike emerged as the central class question in the United States. The coal miners were fighting for the very existence of their union and every other union in the nation.

The attack on the UMW was part of the offensive being waged against the entire labor movement. That year saw the formation of the Council for a Union Free Environment of the National Manufacturers Association. The year before, the steel companies [organized a drive to defeat the] rank-and-file candidate for the presidency of the United Steel Workers [Ed Sadlowski].

The main reason the corporations were determined to take on the miners was to discredit and crush the rank-and-file struggle for democracy in the union. The collective bargaining, which went on before and during the strike, reflected a new trend.

Industry is now coming to the bargaining table armed with its own set of demands to take away already existing gains and determined not to make concessions. It's a giveback policy that's cropping up in other industry negotiations.

Though the miners did not totally succeed in stopping this trend they

were victorious in certain key areas. The corporations failed in their central aim, which was to actually destroy the UMW. The miners also successfully defended their right to strike, and seriously weakened the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley Act. Moreover, it had far-reaching positive effects on the rest of the labor movement.

When the UMW negotiation team sat down at the bargaining table in Washington, they were ostensibly dealing with coal operators. In the past, that term referred to coal mining companies, but the industry's chief negotiator was Joseph P. Brennan, who really represents the gigantic multinationals controlled by superbankers.

The biggest coal company, Peabody, is controlled completely by the Kennecott Copper Company, which in turn is dominated by the Morgan bankers and Guggenheims.

The next biggest coal company, Consolidation, is owned by the Continental Oil Company, a multibillion-dollar asset with holdings in Africa and other overseas lands. Continental was part of Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company before the trust's nominal dissolution in 1911. Its control is now divided between the Rockefellers and Morgan bankers, with the Pittsburgh Mellons having a secondary voice.

The third biggest company, Island Creek, is owned by the Occidental Oil Company. Then there are the big mining properties of the U.S. Steel Corporation, which was founded by J.P. Morgan and Bethlehem Steel, and many coal companies owned entirely by Exxon, Mobil Oil, Gulf Oil, and other oil giants, and the big utilities.

It was the amassed power of the monopolists that confronted the miners as they began their strike.

'A jolt to big business'

[The miners'] struggle of 1978 created a new situation in the trade union movement. It gave a real jolt to big business's drive for take-away contracts. It blunted the vicious antilabor campaign launched against all labor organizations. By ignoring government attempts to break the strike with the Taft-Hartley injunction, it landed a warning blow at that dangerous piece of antilabor legislation.

[The] defense of labor's basic right to strike had positive repercussions among workers in all industries. In the process of the strike, the need for public ownership of the mines and coal resources became a hot issue in the minds of many workers. Why should such vital natural resources be under the control of the big oil, utility, and steel companies, and the big bankers?

In 1978, the United Mine Workers of America's strike brought out once again the well-known fact that under capitalism workers are forced to fight for everything they get. It's either fight, or go backward. The miners have proven it takes a fight to win.

More on miners' history

By Art Preis

The story of the rise of the CIO and the part played by the United Mine Workers union in the labor battles of the 1930s and 1940s

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Why miners didn't buy proposed contract

By Stu Singer

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—It was predicted by the news media, UMWA President Sam Church, and the coal operators that a "silent majority" of miners would vote March 31 in favor of the proposed Bituminous Coal Operators Association contract.

But with a very high turnout, the contract was rejected by a two to one margin.

Chief industry negotiator B.R. Brown, president of Consol, said he had "no plans to resume bargaining." Brown went on to claim that the contract rejection "reflects a disturbing lack of bargaining discipline in the UMWA which puts the integrity of the bargaining process in serious jeopardy."

The *Wall Street Journal* joined the Consol operators in expressing contempt for the democratic contract ratification procedure. They headlined an

See page 15 for speech by UMWA secretary-treasurer Willard Esselstyn at March 28 Harrisburg demonstration.

April 2 article, "UMW members, voting their emotions, deal a 'big blow' to the union president."

Friendly advice

The *Wall Street Journal* quoted an



Consol Blacksville No. 2 mine, near Morgantown.

Militant/Stu Singer

unnamed and probably nonexistent official at the union's headquarters in Washington. "It's fishing season in Appalachia and a lot of miners are off in Ft. Lauderdale on vacations they had booked months ago."

The big-business paper followed with an April 3 editorial advising miners that the "wise" course to follow would be to accept the "lucrative" contract.

According to the *Wall Street Journal* editors, the union seems "bent on self-destruction."

Other newspaper accounts describe the miners as misled and maneuvered by factionalism within the union.

It all comes down to one or another

way of saying that miners are too dumb to vote on the contract.

But the opposite is true. Tens of thousands of miners read and studied the entire contract proposal. They know what's in it, what the changes are, what effect they will have.

A changing story

Most miners view the contract discussion in a larger framework of the Reagan budget cuts, threats of war, other union contracts such as the Chrysler defeat, and the need for the UMWA to grow in size and strength.

It was considerations like these that led to the contract rejection.

Before the vote, the capitalist news media was filled with coal industry "information" that there was a virtually unlimited supply of coal stockpiled. A long strike would have little effect, they claimed.

But since the contract has been rejected, the bosses are changing their tune.

The Norfolk and Western Railroad, one of the main coal haulers, laid off 1,500 workers from their Roanoke, Virginia, shops. The N & W suddenly remembered they lost \$12.7 million in the last strike. The foreign export market the coal operators are hungry for seems to be slipping out of their grasp. Foreign ships, waiting for coal in Virginia's Hampton Roads, are being rerouted.

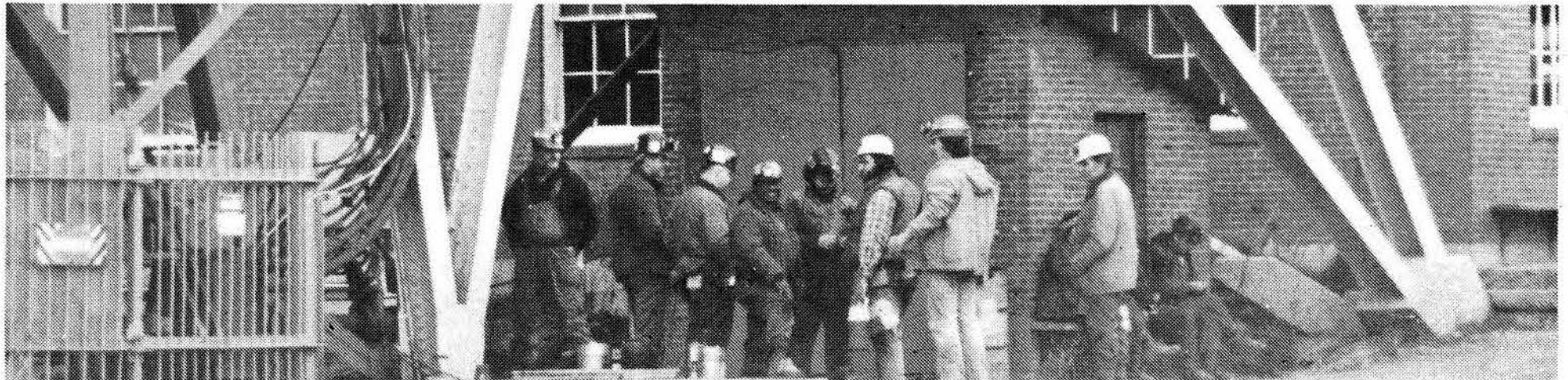
The bosses are also starting to worry about how useful their coal stockpiles will be if the union and its supporters organize wide-ranging solidarity activities.

The truth is that the UMWA is in one of the strongest positions in history.

The attacks by the coal operators represent wishful thinking, not a weak union.

But their attention to this strike does reveal one thing: the stakes are very high.

That is why the miners need all the help they can get.



Miners waiting to go down for last shift before strike: March 26, U.S. Steel Robena mine, Greene County, Pennsylvania.

Militant/Stu Singer

Pa. miners: 'Vote no and save the union'

By Stu Singer

WAYNESBURG, Pa.—United Mine Workers Local 2258 voted on their proposed contract in the basement of the firehall here March 31. The 385 members work at the Emerald mine just outside of town. Three hundred forty-eight of them voted, rejecting the contract 305-43.

Union recording secretary Carl Petro had hoped for 100 percent opposition. But he was pleased with the results.

"We're telling the international, you negotiated this one, we'll negotiate the next one. We're a strong union. What we've fought for has helped every other union. This proposed contract is another try to break the UMWA."

The rejection of the proposed contract was welcome news to mine construction workers.

"If this contract had passed, we'd be out of existence," UMWA construction worker Robert Valentine told the *Militant*.

Valentine stood outside the Waynesburg firehall all day, leafleting for a vote against the proposal.

He is a member of UMWA Local 1846, which represents construction workers in District 4, the southwest corner of Pennsylvania. Members of that local campaigned throughout the area for a no vote.

Save the union

The mine construction workers have a separate contract called the ABC (Association of Bituminous Contractors) agreement. It has the same expiration date as the miners' contract and is patterned after it.

The leaflet distributed by the construction locals said, "Did you know that if you vote yes, your company can do all construction work in and around the mines with non-union workers. Article I-A, Section I will allow it."

The leaflet ends by saying, "DON'T BE FOOLED INTO ACCEPTING A CONTRACT WHICH COULD CAUSE THE UMWA TO CEASE TO EXIST. VOTE NO AND SAVE THE UNION."

The miners took the message to heart.

The contract rejection was as much a blow to the federal government as to the coal operators. The worst features of the proposal were justified as being required by federal laws.

But the authority of the federal government did not seem to carry much weight with the miners.

What did carry enough weight to bring about the rejection was the miners' understanding of how the proposed contract changes would weaken the union.

Union busting

The proposed contract contained a number of provisions directed against the union. Royalties of \$1.90 a ton paid to the union health and pension funds by operators who process or resell non-union coal would stop. Union protection guarantees for leasing and selling mines and contracting work would be weakened or ended. A forty-five day probation period against new miners would have been established. Miners' safety rights would have been restricted. Past decisions of the Arbitration Review Board restricting miners' rights would be maintained, even

though the ARB would be abolished after handing down decisions for ninety more days.

Dave Ferguson of Local 2095 at the Republic Kitt No. 1 mine in Philippi, West Virginia, explained it this way: "The operators want to respond to the booming demand for coal by breaking the union and expanding non-union mines."

He was not alone in feeling that way. Local 2095 rejected the contract 358-72.

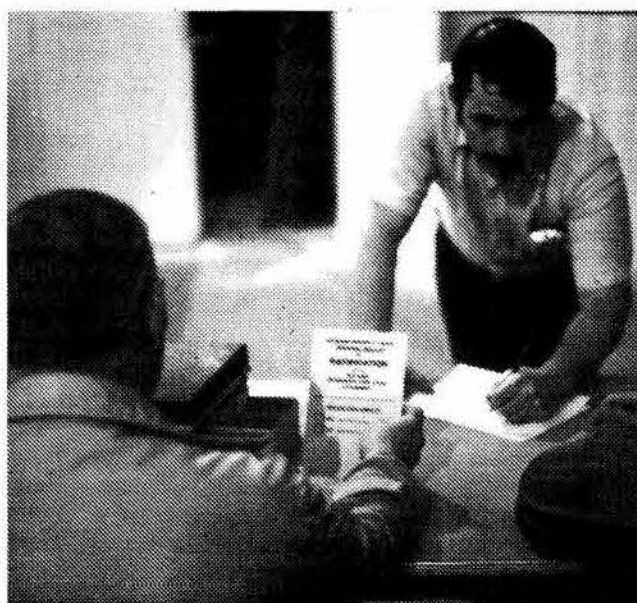
Archie Moats, forty-seven, a veteran of nineteen years in several different mines, made this point: "We're not allowed to organize the non-union mines. We can't picket our own mines. They can put you in jail just for talking about it. It's now or never for the union."

Archie's local, 1702 at Consol's Blacksville No. 2 in northern West Virginia, rejected the contract by 264-101.

The rejection of this contract is the biggest blow in years against the austerity drive of the bosses and their government. Its implications go way beyond the particular wording of the contract between the United Mine Workers and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

John Hawkins, a miner in Local 6132 at the Newfield Mine near Pittsburgh, made a point about this. He's also a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

"They're trying to whip up a war drive atmosphere in this country," Hawkins said. "But they can't even get miners to sacrifice our union rights. How the hell do they expect they'll get miners to sacrifice our lives in a war?"



Militant/Stu Singer

Reasserts right to continue disruption



Government attorney Edward Williams

Militant/Diane Jacobs

By Don Davis

NEW YORK—We can spy on anyone, whether they've done anything or not.

True, we did commit some illegal acts against the socialists. But at the time we really did think they were legal.

And if you criticize us now, you're a Monday morning quarterback.

That was the thrust of the opening argument by government lawyer Peter Salerno in the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

At the heart of the argument was the assertion that it is up to the "discretion" of the government to decide who it spies on, and how. The government even asserts the right to investigate a group that has neither committed a crime nor is planning to commit one.

Margaret Winter, chief counsel for the SWP and YSA, said in her opening statement that the government's extensive investigation over forty years had established that the SWP had not broken a single law and had no plans to do so.

She said the socialists want a court order barring any future investigation of the SWP and YSA based on their ideas and activities. They also want damages, she said, for illegal activities committed against them by the government.

She said the plaintiffs will ask the court to rule that investigations brought under the Smith "gag" Act, other thought-control legislation, and presidential orders are unconstitutional.

Salerno's statement indicated how the government will respond.

The probe of the socialists, he asserted, was "a legitimate, good-faith investigation" which in 1941 led to the conviction of leaders of the SWP under the Smith Act.

Supreme Court decisions in the 1950s

weakened the Smith Act, but it remains on the books.

Salerno emphasized that the FBI "has been authorized since the days of [Franklin] Roosevelt to conduct intelligence-gathering activities. . . ."

He was referring to a series of presidential orders, largely aimed at witch-hunting militant workers out of the labor movement, which the government is using along with the Smith Act to justify its anti-liberties activity.

Salerno also asserted that the public statements of the SWP and YSA are "a sham, that they do not reveal to the public everything they believe."

Attorney Winter said the socialists would take on and rebut this allegation.

The trial will show, she declared, "that the SWP and YSA do not mask their real intentions from the public as the government claims but, to the contrary, that it is a primary objective of the SWP and YSA . . . to make their views fully and publicly known and understood."

Salerno's statement also indicated how the government will try to justify continuing an investigation which produced no indictments for decades.

"An investigation of this nature," he said, "need not stop at any point that someone later decides that it is not generating any useful information."

Attempting to prove the government had not engaged in a conspiracy against the SWP, he argued that it had spied on many groups.

He made it clear that the government will not promise to stop harassing socialists, and wants the legal right to start a new investigation at any time.

He claimed he couldn't see how the judge could issue an injunction barring future investigations. "That," he said, "is committed to the discretion of the attorney general, and attorney generals change from time to time."

Hollywood 10 victim backs suit

By Steve Bride

The name of screenwriter Albert Maltz, one of five living members of the Hollywood Ten, has been added to the list of entertainment industry witch-hunt victims supporting the socialist suit against the U.S. government. (See last week's *Militant* for their statement.)

Maltz joins three other members of the ten—Alvah Bessie, Lester Cole, and Ring Lardner, Jr.—who have endorsed the case.

The ten were jailed in 1950 for their refusal to cooperate with a House Un-American Activities Committee investigation of "Communist infiltration of the motion picture industry." Edward Dmytryk, the fifth survivor of the group, recanted and dissociated himself from the others while serving his prison term.

In his appearance before HUAC, in 1947, Maltz refused to answer questions regarding his membership in the Screen Writers' Guild or Communist Party on the grounds that such questions violated his right to free association.

He stated:

"Why else does this Committee now seek to destroy me and others? Because of our ideas, unquestionably. . . ."

"I claim and I insist upon my right to think freely and to speak freely . . . to offer any criticism I think fitting of any public official or policy; to join whatever organizations I please, no matter what certain legislators may think of them."

Among Maltz's best-known screenplays are *This Gun For Hire* and *The Naked City*.



1947 HUAC hearing on Hollywood Ten

Among the spectators

The following observations of sideline activity at the trial were gathered by Jose G. Pérez, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

"This trial is all politics. This trial is strictly politics."

That's how one young "Special Agent" of the Federal Bureau of Investigation put it to a reporter from National Public Radio who was chatting with him during a recess on the first day of the trial in the suit that U.S. socialists have filed against the federal government for spying and harassment.

"What we have to do," he continued, "is impress on the judge that when these people talk about revolution, they really mean it."

Then he pointed to a table where he had stacked up volumes of Marx and Engels's *Selected Works*, Lenin's *Collected Works*, and resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party. "We're going to hang them with their own words," he said.

This brief scene captures what is going on in Room 302 of the federal courthouse in New York. We have the FBI "Special Agent" (the FBI doesn't have plain, ordinary agents—all are "special") representing the crimes the government has committed against the SWP.

Unfortunately for the government, in this case they are the defendants and the socialists are the prosecution. So frustrated was one government lawyer over this reversal in what they consider the natural order of things, that he declared at the beginning of the lunch recess: "I'm so full of counterrevolutionary fervor that I don't know if I'll be able to keep anything down."

As the courtroom emptied at the end of the first day, the reporter for National Public Radio was telling another reporter that she had taken courses on Marxism at college, but this had been the best class on the subject she had ever heard.

SOCIALISTS SUE SECRET POLICE

Attend the trial. Show your support.
Daily from 10 a.m. at the Federal Courthouse,
Foley Square, New York City

MEET THE WITNESSES FOR THE SWP AND THE YSA
Each Saturday during the trial, 3-5 p.m. Hear reports on the trial proceedings. Find out what socialists stand for. Refreshments.

In Manhattan:
108 E. 16th St.

In Brooklyn:
335 Atlantic Ave.

DAY BY DAY

WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

During the trial of the Socialist suit the 'Militant' will run capsule day-by-day summaries of court proceedings.

DAY 1, THURSDAY, APRIL 2:

SWP chief counsel Margaret Winter argues in opening statement that forty-year government investigation revealed no criminal activity by SWP and YSA and was really aimed at suppressing socialist ideas.

Government attorney Peter Salerno responds that the government has broad "discretion" to decide whom to investigate. He says techniques used against the socialists were "believed to be proper" at the time.

Socialists call their first witness, Farrell Dobbs, a founder of the SWP and national secretary from 1953 to 1972. Dobbs explains that revolutionary socialists seek to educate and mobilize the majority to reorganize society in their own interests. Socialists prefer peaceful change, Dobbs explains, but notes that throughout history privileged minorities have used violence to retain power.

DAY 2, FRIDAY, APRIL 3:

Farrell Dobbs, under cross-examination, emphasizes a revolution can only occur when a large majority believes it necessary.

Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary since 1972, testifies that support for the Fourth International is only part of party's internationalism, which also includes defense of revolutionary governments like Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada—and identification with their leaderships as "sister parties." He says SWP election campaigns provide alternatives to the Democrats and Republicans, get out socialist ideas, and provide opportunities for socialists to exchange ideas with thousands.

DAY 3, MONDAY, APRIL 6:

Barnes's testimony is interrupted to take testimony involving five socialist workers fired from the Brooklyn Navy Yard and later rehired.

One of the workers, SWP member Susan Wald, explains why she secured a job there, the nature of her political discussions with co-workers and Navy personnel, and why she was within her rights under the First Amendment.

DAY 4, TUESDAY, APRIL 7:

U.S. Navy Commander J.R. Kott explains why he asked Coastal Drydock, operator of the Navy Yard, to remove Susan Wald and Marilyn Vogt from working on the USS Aylwin, which he commands. He asserts that their discussions of "partisan politics" were leading to a "potentially explosive" situation.

Lt. George Hebert, another officer on the USS Aylwin, testifies he warned Wald, Vogt, and others not to discuss "partisan politics" aboard ship. He says he did not know they had distributed Progressive Labor Party pamphlets, as they were accused of doing, but "assumed" they did.

DAY 5, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8:

SWP introduces as evidence more than 8,000 letters photographed by FBI during break-ins at SWP offices between 1960 and 1966. Jack Barnes testifies that documents show two particular areas of FBI interest were SWP efforts to meet ballot requirements and defense of the party's democratic rights in the courts.

Under cross-examination Barnes says that SWP candidates appear to be getting a better hearing despite still small vote totals in most cases.

...trial

Continued from page 1

"Farrell Dobbs," says Margaret Winter.

By the end of the day, Dobbs will have spent more than four hours on the stand. The next day he would return for almost four more.

After hearing Dobbs the first day, one woman said, "The thing about Farrell is how convincing he is. Nobody in the room had any doubt that he firmly believed every single word he said."

"He commanded the respect of everybody—including the judge, the court reporters, and even the government lawyer."

Watching Dobbs on the stand, it's not hard to understand how a man like this could have led thousands of workers—which he did as a Teamster and a socialist in the Midwest in the 1930s.

Four times, between 1948 and 1960, he was the SWP presidential candidate.

Winter conducted the direct examination of Dobbs. She heads the socialists' legal team, which consists of six attorneys. They include Herbert Jordan, Randlett Walster, Shelly Davis, Donna Marie Gilligan, and Charles Brennan.

Winter's questioning took Dobbs over a wide spectrum of topics, including:

- the founding of the SWP, which was led in large part by former members of the Communist Party expelled in the 1920s for supporting Trotsky over Stalin;
- the Marxist view that the class struggle is the motive force of history;
- the SWP's belief that a socialist revolution can only occur when a majority supports it;
- the socialists' opposition to terrorism;
- the SWP's preference for peaceful change, but recognition that throughout history ruling minorities have used violence to retain privilege;
- Dobbs's conviction in 1941, along with seventeen other leaders of the SWP and Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis, for violating the Smith "gag" Act;
- the attempts by the SWP to have its name removed from the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations;
- the SWP's political opposition to any imperialist attack on the Soviet Union.

Cross examination

Conducting the cross examination was Edward G. Williams, assistant U.S. attorney.

The government's two other main lawyers at the trial are Peter Salerno and Cathy Silak.

The first thing that strikes you about this trio is how young they are.

While the government lawyers are young, their performance in court turned out to be old stuff—as became apparent soon after Williams began his questioning.

They doubtless worked out their trial strategy with help from some of the old hands in the Justice Department. The fact is they've never had a case like this one.

The closest thing to it, from their point of view, were the anti-communist trials of the 1950s. This was their model. At times the script from Williams's cross examination seems to have been lifted from a bad movie.

Strategy a shambles

William's questions rolled out: "Do you consider yourself a Marxist?" "... do you consider yourself a Leninist?"

What about the history of the First, Second, and Third Internationals? And the founding of the Fourth? Where did it take place?

"... what is the nature of this class struggle in a Leninist sense?"

"Do you consider yourself a participant in the class struggle?"

"Do you see the bold letters, 'The Class Struggle' on page 39?"—referring to a publication he had handed Dobbs.

Then, reading a quote from Lenin, he asks, "Is that consistent with your un-

derstanding of the class struggle?"

Before long the judge had had enough. He was losing his patience.

"He has said over and over—he used the words 'class struggle.' I don't see any reason in reading him a lot of things that are consistent with what he said."

Williams persists. Griesa interrupts again: "He has stated that he believes in the concept of revolution."

When Williams returns once again to the same line of questioning, an exasperated Griesa offers a small lecture. "I would just suggest that when you are cross examining, if a witness has taken a position, don't have a prearranged script that you follow on cross. Tailor your cross to the precise testimony."

By this point there is no doubt. The government trial strategy is a shambles.

The prosecution, the socialists, had totally disarmed them.

The government's entire line of attack only makes sense in a situation where they are questioning somebody with something to hide.

But in this courtroom, it's getting them nowhere.

You imagine that Williams expected a hush to fall over the courtroom, as spectators breathlessly awaited the answer when he asked, "Are you a Marxist?"

But most people just shrugged. What's this all about, they wondered. The man has just spent most of the day explaining that he's a Marxist.

Then, too, this is not the 1950s, but the 1980s. Only three days earlier 160,000 miners walked out of the mines.

Reagan and Haig are striking out in their efforts to appeal to anti-communism to get people interested in a war in El Salvador.

And outside the courtroom, down in the streets of Manhattan, thousands of New Yorkers can be seen wearing green ribbons in solidarity with the Black community in Atlanta.

Jack Barnes

Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, continued Dobbs's approach when he took the stand on the afternoon of April 3. He stated the SWP's stance toward the Cuban Communist Party, the FSLN of Nicaragua, and the New Jewel Movement of Grenada, calling them "sister parties."

In explaining the SWP's relationship to the Fourth International on following days of the trial, Barnes described some of the political campaigns of the International that the SWP was carrying out, such as solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

Asked by Winter what stand the SWP would take in a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, Barnes testified that if the U.S. government were to wage war against any of the countries where capitalism has been abolished, the SWP would politically oppose such aggression. Similarly, he added, it would oppose any attempts to thwart self-determination of colonial peoples.

He cited the party's opposition to the

aggression against Korea and Vietnam, adding that today if there was an invasion of El Salvador, the party would vigorously oppose it.

It was not guaranteed that the socialists would be able to explain their views in court.

They could have decided to focus their fight on the narrowest of issues in the suit—burglaries, wiretaps, Cointelpro plots.

In a strict legal sense, this would have been the easiest course to take.

But the socialists chose to take a broader approach, challenging the underlying structure of the entire government "investigation" against them.

For such an approach to be meaningful, a true and accurate picture of their views must be part of the record.

Judge Griesa seems to be acknowledging the fact that he needs to know something about the ideas of the SWP and YSA.

At one point Griesa asks Dobbs, "Did Lenin espouse the idea of a revolution only when there is the support of the majority of the people?"

"That is correct, sir," Dobbs replies.

"How do you explain the takeover of the Bolsheviks in 1917?" Griesa asks.

"It was a majority action, your honor," Dobbs says.

"I guess we better go back and read what happened," Griesa says.

The next day he announced that he had read the entry on the Russian revolution in the Encyclopedia Britannica.

Innuendos and insinuations

Meanwhile, beyond getting the socialists to admit they are Marxists, the government strategy seems to be largely limited to introducing innuendos and vague suggestions of dark conspiracies and violence.

For example, in his cross examination of Dobbs, Williams zeroed in on a lecture in which Dobbs called the SWP a "combat party."

Deflating Williams's insinuation, Dobbs explains that a combat party is one "that acts as a unit... not as a party that goes off in a dozen ways after a course has been decided upon."

"It has no bearing on the concept of military combat, if that is what you think."

The lawyer questioned Dobbs at length about his "code names." Explaining he never described them that way, Dobbs said that during the 1950s socialists were sometimes forced to use pseudonyms to protect themselves from getting fired.

All of this is pretty weak stuff. If anything, it underscores the fact that after forty years of intense spying, the government has not been able to come up with one single illegal act. It adds weight to the plaintiffs' demand that the government "investigation" of the socialists be called off for good. And that the judge rule all the various thought control laws and edicts cannot be used against them.

The fight for freedom is at home

- Money for Jobs, not War.
- Stop Racist Violence from Atlanta to New York.
- Stop the cutbacks. Support the miners.

Socialist Campaign Rally

WELLS TODD—Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City
SAMORI MARKSMAN—Caribbean Peoples Alliance, WBAI
MARIAN BUSTIN—Member, United Mine Workers Local 2095; victim of FBI and INS harassment
KATHRYN CROWDER—YSA national organization secretary, key witness in socialist suit against FBI/CIA/INS
PONCE LaSPINA—Andrés Figueroa Cordero Foundation
JONATHAN HOUSE—President, Committee of Interns and Residents

SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 7:30 p.m.
P.S. 41, 116 West 11th St., Manhattan
Donation \$2.00. Party to follow.

What is at stake in trial against government spying

(The following statement was issued April 7 by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting in New York City.)

The Socialist Workers Party is waging a battle on behalf of the political rights of all working people in the United States.

The trial of the SWP's lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and other federal political police agencies, filed in 1973 along with the Young Socialist Alliance, is now under way.

The SWP is asking the court to recognize our right to express and campaign for our socialist views and to maintain collaboration with other socialists around the world. We insist that the U.S. Constitution protects our right to conduct these legal activities free from government spying, harassment, blacklisting, and the threat of prosecution or deportation.

The SWP is asking for a court injunction ruling any further government operations against us as unconstitutional. And we are demanding \$40 million in damages for past crimes against us.

The government had hoped to steer clear of these fundamental issues. The last thing it wanted was a public trial that clearly posed the question:

Are socialists protected under the Bill of Rights?

But after eight years of beating around the bush, the government is now being forced to provide some justification for its four-and-a-half decades of unconstitutional victimization and disruption.

No illegal acts

Despite constant surveillance and use of informers against the SWP and YSA over this entire period, the FBI and other federal cop agencies have not come up with a single illegal act that could help them make their case. They have not been able to show that our party ever committed, planned, or advised others to commit illegal acts.

As a result, the government has had to bring out into the open the thought-control legislation it normally prefers to keep in the shadows these days. These witch-hunting laws don't sit well with the majority of American people, who believe they have a right to think and say what they like.

"The issue in this case is not whether the SWP, the YSA, or any of their members can be proved guilty of a crime beyond a reasonable doubt," contends a recent Justice Department document in the case.

"The issue is whether the Government has the right to keep itself informed of the activities of groups that openly advocate revolutionary change in the structure and leadership of the United States, even if such advocacy might be within the letter of the law." (Emphasis added.)

The government's position is that putting social-

under an executive order decreed under President Truman that seeks to bar "subversives" from employment in "sensitive industries."

It was under this executive order that the notorious "attorney general's list" was drawn up, stigmatizing dozens of groups as "subversive." Although President Nixon claimed that he abolished the list in 1974, findings in the SWP and YSA suit show that the cops still use it.

More important, Nixon didn't touch the "loyalty program" decree itself.

- *The Voorhis and Registration of Foreign Agents acts.* These laws infringe on the rights of residents of the United States to maintain legal political collaboration with like-minded individuals and organizations abroad. Because of the Voorhis Act, the SWP was forced in 1940 to disaffiliate from the Fourth International. The SWP was a founding member of this international revolutionary socialist organization and would affiliate today were it not for the reactionary Voorhis Act.

- *The Immigration and Naturalization Act.* This

We are challenging the government's entire police and spying set-up, not just its 'abuses.' We refuse to accept any infringement of the Bill of Rights based on the political views of a person or organization, including revolutionary socialists.

law allows the federal authorities to deny entry, to deport, or to bar naturalization to noncitizens purely on the basis of their political opinions.

This law has frequently been used against the SWP, YSA, Communist Party, and other organizations and individuals. Right now, two members of the SWP and YSA—Héctor Marroquín and Marian Bustin—are being threatened with deportation under this act.

At the trial, the SWP is asking the court to declare unconstitutional the Smith Act, Voorhis Act, and all other such laws and executive orders as they are applied to justify police operations against us.

These thought-control measures reveal a lot about whose interests the U.S. government represents.

Minority rule

The government is, in effect, the top committee of the class of fabulously wealthy bankers and businessmen who rule the United States. This ruling class, although it accounts for only a tiny percentage of the population, uses the Congress, White House, courts, army, and police to protect and promote its profits.

Political rule enables the capitalists to rake off for

against those who resist its policies at home—unions, Black rights organizations, antiwar activists, feminist groups, and socialists.

"... the Government may legally investigate individuals or organizations regardless of their nature," the Justice Department asserted in a recent document submitted in the SWP lawsuit.

'Subversives'

It is not by oversight that laws such as the Smith Act never define what they mean by "subversive."

That is left up to the government. A "subversive" is anyone who challenges the profits and prerogatives of the capitalists. Anyone who "subverts" the status quo of oppression and exploitation.

A coal miner striking against the giant energy monopolies is a "subversive."

A Black activist organizing against the racist murders in Atlanta is a "subversive."

A young person who doesn't want to be drafted to fight in El Salvador is a "subversive."

A woman who fights for the right to abortion is a "subversive."

The government claims a special right to "investigate" those who puncture the illusions behind which it hides and who challenge the right of a handful of superrich to rule.

That is what socialists do.

To say that holding these views is a crime is to say that being a socialist is illegal.

And that is what the government contends.

The capitalists fear socialist ideas. That is why they try to stigmatize socialists by falsely labeling us as "subversives." The American rulers, who dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and pulverized Vietnam, claim that *we* are advocates of "force and violence," of "terrorism."

Why target socialists?

The rulers know what would happen if the American people were able to hear, read, and consider socialist views with no interference or intimidation.

The people of this country would decide to set up a truly democratic government representing the interests of the vast majority, the working people—workers and farmers; Black, Latino, and white; male and female. Workers would get rid of the system that robs and oppresses them and build a new society based on production for human needs rather than profits.

To keep this from happening, the schools, big business media, and other capitalist institutions lie about and suppress socialist ideas. Election laws are rigged to make it hard for socialist and other independent working-class candidates to get on the ballot.

And the government spies on and harasses socialists, aiming to discourage other people from supporting or joining the SWP and YSA.

The government contends that the American people have no right to know about its secret police activities.

According to the rulers, these are "state secrets." They assert the sanctity of "informer privilege" and invoke the president's "executive privilege" to pursue the interests of "national security."

These code words, and the cop operations they cloak, are absolutely essential for the ruling class to rule.

The SWP lawsuit is challenging these flagrant violations of political rights.

We are proving in court that our activities are entirely legal.

We are rebutting the government's claim that we have two political programs: the "real" one for internal use, and another one for public consumption. Socialists believe and do what we say we believe and do.

In fact, the SWP tries to get out our views to the

Continued on next page

Laws such as the Smith Act never define what they mean by 'subversive.' That is left up to the government. A 'subversive' is anyone who challenges the profits and prerogatives of the capitalists. Anyone who 'subverts' the status quo of oppression and exploitation.

ist ideas before the American people is itself a crime!

This outrageous claim, which endangers the political rights of every person in this country, is spelled out in an affidavit submitted to the court in February by FBI Special Agent Charles Mandigo.

The affidavit was prepared in response to Judge Thomas Griesa's request that the government provide a list of alleged crimes committed by six SWP leaders. Mandigo came up with no crimes.

Thought-control edicts

Instead, what the document did was to imply that merely being a leader of the SWP is a violation of a series of federal laws and executive orders dating back four decades. Among these undemocratic measures are:

- *The Smith Act.* This law, passed in 1940, seeks to make it illegal to advocate socialist ideas. Members of both the SWP and Communist Party have been convicted and jailed under this law.

- *The "loyalty program."* This was first set up

themselves the vast bulk of the wealth produced by the working-class majority.

The capitalist rulers could not get away with this if everything were out on the table. Thus, they seek to maintain the illusion that decisions are made democratically, with full involvement and fair play for all Americans.

The government, we are told, represents the interests of all the people.

Reliance on these illusions is the most efficient and least costly way for the employing class to rule. But it doesn't flinch from resorting to naked repression when necessary.

In order to protect capitalist superprofits, American "democracy" arms and finances bloody dictators throughout the world—from the shah and Somoza yesterday, to the murderous Salvadoran junta today.

The U.S. ruling class does not reserve its violent and illegal methods for the people of the colonial world alone, however. The government employs whatever means it considers necessary and possible

Fired socialist, two ship's officers testify

By Vivian Sahner

NEW YORK—Navy Commander J. R. Kott should think twice before trying to get anybody else fired for their politics. On April 7 he wound up in federal court for his role in firing five socialists who work at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

The Socialist Workers Party called Kott and Navy Lt. Jr. Grade George Hebert as witnesses in their trial against government harassment. Documents were introduced detailing the participation of the Naval Intelligence Service, FBI, and the Attorney General's office in the Navy yard victimization attempt.

SWP member Susan Wald, one of the pipefitters dismissed by Coastal Dry Dock and Repair Corporation last November 25, took the stand April 6 to explain what happened.

Wald, Robert Dees, Bill Henry, Steve Smith, and Marilyn Vogt, all members of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers Local 12, had been fired because Coastal received a letter from Commander Kott of the USS *Aylwin*, a Navy vessel being repaired in the yard.

The five were marched out of the yard under armed guard.

They quickly filed a union grievance and distributed a leaflet describing the undemocratic attack to workers and sailors the following morning. Then they contacted attorneys for the SWP.

In less than forty-eight hours, the company decided to rehire the five.

The SWP presented Wald's Navy Yard termination notice in court. It lists "engagement in political activities" and cites part of the Smith Act as grounds for dismissal.

Shelley Davis, an attorney for the SWP, began by asking Wald why she became a socialist.

"I remember watching troops escorting Black children to school in Little Rock, Arkansas," Wald said. "That really opened my eyes to the real oppression in this country. I knew it was connected in some way to the system that we live under. . . . Black people couldn't get equal rights even though the law of the land said they had equal rights."

Wald became interested in the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance while participating in the movement against the Vietnam War. "There were certain people who seemed to know what to do next, and I became aware of the fact that those people who stood out were members of the YSA and SWP."

"I became convinced that it was possible to change this society and I

joined."

Davis asked Wald why she took a job in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Wald answered that she wanted a decent union job that paid a living wage.

"I began to see that the women who were making the money I described were working at industrial jobs," she said. "I knew today that it is more and more possible than in the past for women to get into those kinds of jobs."

Another important factor, Wald said, was that she wanted to be part of the SWP and YSA effort to reach workers with socialist ideas.

Wald told the court that the job at Coastal was her first experience as a



SUSAN WALD

pipefitter. She explained frankly that in order to get the job, she put down on her application that she had two years experience.

"I was interviewed by the boss after the test," she said, "and I think that he realized that I had little knowledge of pipefitting, but I also think he realized that I was willing to learn."

Wald described her job repairing and replacing pipes on the USS *Aylwin*: "Several times my supervisor complimented me on my work, told me I had done a good job. . . . I think I did a good job, I took pride in my performance."

She explained that her work took her aboard the naval vessels and, when

spare time permitted, she discussed politics with those crew members who were interested, as well as with co-workers.

One of the big things she discussed with people was the 1980 elections. "I explained that I was voting for Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann as alternatives and I explained why I thought they should vote for SWP candidates."

"We also talked about the hostage situation in Iran and the possibility of a war in El Salvador, the possibility of the draft being reinstated. I offered my point of view and they offered theirs," Wald said.

Attorney Davis asked Wald if she had ever solicited membership in the SWP while on the job, one reason the Navy listed for getting her removed from the USS *Aylwin*.

"Well no," Wald answered, adding, "I never made any secret of my membership."

Wald and Marilyn Vogt had been accused by the Navy of distributing a pamphlet entitled *Soldiers and Sailors and the Fight for Socialism*. The pamphlet was published by the Progressive Labor Party, an ultrasectionarian grouping.

Calling the charge "absolutely ridiculous," Wald told the judge that the Socialist Workers Party and PLP "have nothing in common politically. . . . I think the pamphlet is wrong, provocative, it's not the kind of thing I would distribute."

Later, one of the Navy officers called as a witness admitted that he had "assumed" members of the SWP had distributed the pamphlet.

Wald also countered Navy implications of "seditious" activity by explaining that she had never counseled either workers or sailors to strike or engage in a slowdown.

Insofar as her co-workers are concerned, she added, "We are working under a contract. The question of a strike is not a decision for one person. It's one the union would take up. What I did discuss was the need to build the union, to go to union meetings and to make the union better."

"To my knowledge everything I did was within my rights under the First Amendment," said Wald.

The Navy doesn't agree. Lt. Jr. Grade Hebert told the court that in his opinion even wearing a "Vote SWP" button was an illegal act.

Before the Navy officers took the stand, however, a government attorney, Cathy Silak, tried to grill Wald.

First Silak tried to raise the specter of national security. "You knew that if you got a job at Coastal there was a good chance that you would be working on a Navy vessel. Isn't that true?" she demanded.

Continuing her hard-cop routine, Silak then asked Wald, "On your application form you stated that you had had experience as a pipefitter from 1970 to 1972. Isn't that true?"

When Wald repeated that she put down what was necessary to get the job, Silak shot back, "So you misrepresented facts on your application. Isn't that true?"

A few minutes of this was enough for Judge Griesa. He told Silak to quit arguing with the witness.

The next morning Commander Kott was called to the stand.

Kott said he had the five pipefitters removed from his ship because he thought their conduct was "contrary to good order and discipline." He said he didn't allow any "partisan politics" on board.

He admitted that he had initiated a Naval Intelligence Service investigation and that he received information from the FBI that Wald and Vogt were members of the SWP.

He also admitted that he never saw any of the five distribute literature nor spoke to any of them about it before throwing them off the ship.

Lt. Hebert wrapped up the testimony on the Brooklyn Navy Yard. As a representative of a Navy that claims to fight for democracy, Hebert was a sight to behold.

He described how he demanded the name and badge number of one worker who he suspected of distributing leaflets. The worker said the Navy didn't have that right. Wald, Vogt, and others joined in the discussion.

"Marilyn Vogt had a large button, probably two inches," he said, "that said 'Vote SWP.' She asked me if it was all right to wear it. I told her no. . . . She took it off, she said she didn't want to get into trouble."

Of the ship's sailors, Hebert announced, "Basically I control their lives. I can make them work overtime or give them time off if I want to."

He said he was opposed to political discussions in the yard because of the weight of his authority. "I could influence them in some way if I chose to."

That, of course, is wishful thinking on the Navy's part. And it's the real tipoff on why they tried so hard to get socialists out of the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

...statement

Continued from page 8

widest possible audience—through our newspapers, election campaigns, and other ways.

The SWP is asserting our right to collaborate with those who share our goals in other countries.

We participate in political discussions that take place in the Fourth International—and we have a right to do so.

We express our solidarity with the revolutionary leaderships in Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua and with the class-struggle workers movement in Poland—and we have a right to do so.

None of our activities justify any investigation by the government.

The 'investigators'

This is doubly true since evidence in our lawsuit shows that there is no such thing as a "neutral" or "harmless" investigation.

"Investigation" means the use of informers and provocateurs to disrupt political organizations and keep tabs on the personal lives of their members and supporters.

"Investigation" means burglaries of headquarters and apartments to steal or photograph lists of names and addresses, as well as other materials.

"Investigation" means visits by government agents and anonymous poison pen letters to employers and landlords, aimed at getting socialists

fired or evicted.

"Investigation" means wiretaps, mail tampering, and even searches through garbage cans.

"Investigation" means FBI collusion with plant security guards and personnel departments to carry out union-busting victimizations, such as the firing several months ago of fifteen Georgia Lockheed workers because of their socialist views.

And FBI Director William Webster publicly stated in December that under the department's "guidelines," informers are immune from prosecution for committing murder to maintain their cover!

This web of cops, spies, stoolpigeons, and repressive legislation is the product of a bipartisan policy, not just excesses left over from Nixon and Watergate. These criminal activities have been systematically carried out by both Democratic and Republican administrations.

In fact, many of the thought-control measures the SWP and YSA are fighting were passed during the tenure of Democratic Party liberal Franklin Roosevelt. The Roosevelt administration initiated the investigation of the SWP and handed down the indictments under which SWP leaders were imprisoned for expressing their socialist ideas and their opposition to World War II.

Meaning of suit

The bosses and their political parties know what's coming in this country.

Over the past decade they have stepped up their austerity drive against the wages, living standards, and working conditions of American workers. They have launched a drive toward war.

As a result, the employers are less and less willing to tolerate the right to speak, organize, and assemble freely, which the workers use to resist ruling-class plans.

The bosses are promoting union-busting all over the country. They are unleashing increased police brutality against Black and Latino communities. Racist and fascist outfits like the Ku Klux Klan take heart at these government policies.

The SWP lawsuit is part of the working-class fightback against this assault on democratic rights.

We are challenging the government's entire police and spying set-up, not just its "abuses." We refuse to accept any infringement of the Bill of Rights based on the political views of a person or organization, including revolutionary socialists.

This intransigent defense of political rights is continuing to win broad endorsement from hundreds of unionists, Black rights activists, and other supporters of civil liberties.

This support indicates a growing recognition that a victory in this case would be a victory for all victims of government spying and harassment and for all working people in this country.

We ask all those who have not yet done so to join with us in this fight.

SWP answers British government

Who is responsible for Northern Ireland

[The following exchange was initiated January 17, the day after the attempted assassination of Irish liberation fighter Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and her husband, Michael McAliskey. Devlin McAliskey has been a leader in the fight to win political status for Irish political prisoners. The exchange consists of a telegram sent by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, a reply by the first secretary of the British embassy in Washington, and a rebuttal by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.]

Protest attack on McAliskeys

If Bernadette Devlin McAliskey dies, there is no way your government can escape the responsibility for her death. The assassination of four leaders of the H-Block campaign in 1980 made it obvious that her life was in danger.

This savage attack on her and her husband Michael reveals the full horror of the system that Britain has created and maintained in Northern Ireland.

We demand: the immediate prosecution and conviction of the attackers.

Grant the demands of the H-Block prisoners.

End British occupation and colonial rule of Northern Ireland.

Socialist Workers Party



Bloody Sunday: January 30, 1972. British troops slaughter thirteen unarmed demonstrators.

British gov't replies

The Workers Party [sic]
14 Charles Lane
New York
NY 10014

3 February 1981

I have been asked to reply to your recent telegram to the Prime Minister about events in Northern Ireland.

In your telegram, you sought assurances that those responsible for the attempted murder of Mr and Mrs McAliskey should be prosecuted. I cannot emphasise too strongly that my Government condemns without reservation terrorist violence by anyone in Northern Ireland from whatever quarter it may come. The Security Forces relentlessly pursue suspected terrorists of any description. Following the attack on Mr and Mrs McAliskey, three men were apprehended by an army patrol in the vicinity of the McAliskey's home. They were charged with the attempted murder of the McAliskeys on 21 January and are currently being held in custody awaiting trial. Both Mr and Mrs McAliskey are now making good progress in hospital, where they were taken, following the attack, by British soldiers who also provided crucial emergency medical aid.

So far as the demands of the protesting prisoners at HM Prison Maze are concerned, the Government has repeatedly made it clear that it is not prepared to concede the demand for political status by prisoners who claim that their crimes had a political motive. The Government cannot accept that those who make a claim of this kind should be treated differently from other convicted prisoners in Northern Ireland. No-one is imprisoned in Northern Ireland, or elsewhere in the United Kingdom, for his or her political beliefs. None of the protesting prisoners has been adopted as a "Prisoner of Conscience" by Amnesty International. All have been convicted in open court, many for very serious criminal offenses such as murder, armed robbery and explosives and firearms offences.

In June 1980 the European Commission of Human Rights, in a case brought by four of the protesting prisoners, ruled that "the protest cannot derive any legitimacy or justification from the European Convention of Human Rights". The Commission also ruled that the applicants were seeking a status of political prisoner to which they were not entitled under national law, under the Convention or under existing norms of international law.

The Government has responded positively to suggestions that changes might be made on humanitarian grounds in the living conditions of prisoners in Northern Ireland. For example, in future all prisoners in Northern Ireland will be issued with civilian-type clothing instead of prison uniform.

My Government cannot accept the suggestion that it "occupies" Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom and will remain so unless the people of Northern Ireland and Parliament at Westminster decide otherwise. Statutory provision exists for the wishes of the Northern Ireland electorate to be tested at intervals by a "Border Poll". and successive Governments have made it clear that those wishes, whether to remain part of the United Kingdom or to leave it, will be respected. A substantial majority of the people of Northern Ireland at present wish to remain part of the United Kingdom. In a Border Poll in March 1973, the overwhelming majority of those who voted and an absolute majority of the electorate expressed the wish that Northern Ireland should remain within the United Kingdom. At successive elections both before and after 1973 most voters have supported parties who wish to retain the union with Great Britain.

Yours sincerely,
J.S. Wall
First Secretary

SWP Nat'l Secretary on British terrorism

J.S. Wall, First Secretary
British Embassy
3100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

March 20, 1981

Mr. Wall:

In your letter of February 3, you assert that the British government "condemns without reservation terrorist violence in Northern Ireland from whatever quarter it may come." You claim, "The Security Forces relentlessly pursue terrorists of any description." And you insist that the British government is upholding international law and human rights in Northern Ireland.

These claims are false.

The primary instigators and protectors of terrorism in Northern Ireland are the British government and its agents.

To begin with, British troops have been responsible for killing numerous unarmed civilians. The most infamous example was the "Bloody Sunday" massacre of January 30, 1972, when British paratroopers opened fire on some 15,000 unarmed demonstrators, slaughtering thirteen of them in cold blood.

Catholic priests, members of the British Parliament on the scene, journalists, and community leaders all testified that the paratroopers fired indiscriminately into the crowd and that the only incident prior to the attack was some rock throwing.

"They just jumped out, and, with unbelievable murderous fury, shot into the fleeing crowd," reported Italian journalist Fulvio Grimaldi in the February 1, 1972, issue of the *Irish Times*.

"I have travelled to many countries," Grimaldi said. "I have seen many civil wars and revolutions and wars. I have never seen such a cold-blooded murder, organised, disciplined murder, planned murder."

Although the massive upsurge within Ireland sparked by the massacre, and the accompanying international outcry, forced the British gov-

ernment to tread more carefully, the killings did not end with Bloody Sunday.

Thus, in its October 8, 1978, issue, the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* felt it necessary to caution the British government.

"The death of innocent people shot either by mistake or because they stumbled unawares into traps set by plain clothes soldiers for terrorists is becoming a grim fact of life in Northern Ireland," the *Guardian* noted. "In the past four months three people who were indisputably innocent have been shot."

An example of how these murder squads operate was reported in a January 1, 1980, Associated Press dispatch. "British soldiers, laying an ambush for terrorists in the darkness of New Year's morning," it reported, "accidentally shot and killed their squad leader and another member of their own unit. . . ."

"They were shot, apparently without being challenged, outside a village in the strongly pro-Irish Republican Army county of Armagh."

Obviously, the soldiers were mistaken by their buddies for local residents. No warning was called, no cry to halt. Anybody in the area was considered fair game, and if it had been a local farmer, or a milkman on his rounds, the British army would have chalked up another success in the war against "terrorism."

But outright killings by British troops in Northern Ireland are only the tip of the iceberg, Mr. Wall. The British government is responsible for the organization and maintenance of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Defence Regiment.

These exclusively Protestant forces have a long and shameful record of abuse, torture, and murder directed against the oppressed Catholic population of Northern Ireland. Since they operate under the auspices of the British government, their continuing crimes are the responsibility of that

Continued on next page

violence?

government.

Terrorism against the Catholic population is the method that has been used for centuries in maintaining British rule in Ireland. The Protestant ascendancy, along with its anti-Catholic pogroms and its systematic oppression of the Catholic majority, was instituted by the British government as a means of colonial rule.

Although you insist that your government "cannot accept the suggestion that it 'occupies' Northern Ireland," the sordid history of British colonial wars against the Irish people establishes beyond any doubt why the British government today finds it necessary to station thousands of troops in that country.

Although it has been six decades since Britain enforced the partition of Ireland against the wishes of the Irish people, resistance to colonial rule continues. The creation of an artificial statelet in the six counties of Northern Ireland was an affront to the right of the Irish people to self-determination.

Although you refuse to admit the truth, the London *Sunday Times* Insight Team, in its 1972 book *Northern Ireland: A Report on the Conflict*, pointed out in regard to the establishment of Northern Ireland:

"The border was itself the first and biggest gerrymander: the six counties it enclosed, the new province of Ulster, had no point or meaning except as the largest area which the Protestant tribe could hold against the Catholic. Protestant supremacy was the only reason why the State existed. As such, the State itself was an immoral concept. It therefore had to be maintained from the first by immoral means—the fiddling of internal boundaries too, the steady pressure on Catholics to emigrate by making it hard for them to live and work, the police bullying . . . And in the end the Army on the streets, internment, 'deep interrogation.'"

It is hypocritical for you to deny that the struggle of the nationalist population against this colonial system is a political struggle, to deny that the Republican prisoners in Northern Ireland are imprisoned for their political beliefs.

It was the British government that invoked internment without trial for Republican prisoners in August 1971 and which maintained that policy until December 1975. Those interned were never tried or convicted of any criminal acts. They were picked out solely on the basis of their political beliefs.

Because of that, the British government itself was forced to concede special status to the Republican prisoners from 1972 until 1976.

When the British government discontinued internment without trial as a result of the resistance of the nationalist population and international pressure, it came up with a new method for dealing with its political opponents.

Under the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1976, anybody the authorities characterize as a "suspected terrorist" can be seized and taken to interrogation centers, where they can be held incommunicado for up to seven days, and then tried without jury by a single judge in what are known as Diplock courts. More than 85 percent of all convictions in these Diplock courts are based wholly or mainly on a statement or confession obtained through torture.

You, Mr. Wall, quote selectively from the European Commission on Human Rights. Need I remind you that on September 2, 1976, the European Commission on Human Rights issued an 8,400 page report that found Britain guilty of using torture against suspected "terrorists" in Northern Ireland?

Among the methods described in the report were:

- Forcing prisoners to stand with fingers and forehead pressed against a wall for up to twelve hours.
- Keeping prisoners masked and hooded for up to twenty-four hours.
- Subjecting prisoners to continuous shouting and loud noises.
- Beating prisoners in the chest, head, and abdomen as they were lined up for hours against police station walls.
- Depriving prisoners of adequate sleep and food.

The European Commission on Human Rights also found that British troops had instructed local police in the use of torture techniques, and had recommended their use against suspected members of the Irish Republican Army.

These are the methods that must be used against any people fighting for its liberty. They are wholly in keeping with the centuries-long record of British oppression and terrorism in Ireland.

For these reasons, I repeat the points made in our January 17 telegram.

We demand the immediate prosecution and conviction of the people responsible for the attack on the lives of Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and Michael McAliskey!

Grant the demands of the H-Block prisoners! End British occupation and colonial rule of Northern Ireland!

Jack Barnes
National Secretary,
Socialist Workers Party



BERNADETTE DEVLIN MCALISKEY

Militant/Jean Vertheim

'Militant' sales teams fan out to coalfields

By Sandi Sherman

The *Militant* has launched a campaign to get out the truth about the miners' strike. The example the miners are setting by leading the fight against Reagan and the bosses, coupled with the need for solidarity with their struggle, underscores the importance of this effort.

As part of this campaign, nine teams of socialists will be traveling throughout the coal fields. Socialists will be introducing the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to striking miners in Price, Utah; in Raton, New Mexico; in southern Illinois and eastern Kentucky; and in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio.

Initial reports indicate people are eager to read a paper that tells the truth about the miners' fight. A team of three socialists sold ninety-three *Militants* and thirty-one subscriptions in the coalfields around Johnstown, Pennsylvania. Claire Fraenzl reports that the response was so good that Pittsburgh socialists are planning to send out five teams to the coalfields next week.

Two Denver socialists made a special trip to Trinidad, Colorado, a community near two coal mines. They sold thirty-five papers, mostly to Chicanos who were interested in the miners' struggle and in the April 29 demonstration called by rail unions to protest Conrail cutbacks.

Socialists also report continued interest in the *Militant's* coverage of the racist murders in Atlanta. Los Angeles socialists sold 150 *Militants* and twenty copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* at two demonstrations, April 3 and 4, in solidarity with Atlanta's Black community.

New York socialists sold 250 copies of the *Militant*, *Young Socialist*, and *PM*



Perspectiva Mundial/Roberto Kopec

at an April 4 demonstration sponsored by the Black United Front.

These few examples are an indication of the profound increase in receptivity to socialist ideas, the desire to read a paper that tells the truth about the struggles of working people in this country and around the world.

The sales results in the accompanying scoreboard, however, do not match the potential that exists to reach thousands of people with the *Militant* and *PM*.

Socialists in every area need to organize thorough discussions on the importance of getting out the press and to map out specific plans of how to meet weekly goals. In the coming weeks we expect to report a significant increase in weekly sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Sales scoreboard

AREA	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		%
	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	
Morgantown	110	164	0	0	110	164	149.0
Gary	70	90	5	0	75	90	120.0
Milwaukee	90	107	10	3	100	110	110.0
San Antonio	70	80	20	17	90	97	107.7
Seattle	125	126	0	3	125	129	103.2
Pittsburgh	245	0	5	0	250	253	101.2
Dallas	55	55	35	36	90	91	101.1
Iron Range	45	45	0	0	45	45	100.0
Louisville	80	80	0	0	80	80	100.0
Salt Lake City	100	102	8	6	108	108	100.0
Kansas City	115	107	10	12	125	119	95.2
Phoenix	110	102	25	26	135	128	94.8
San Diego	90	73	10	15	100	88	88.0
Piedmont	100	85	0	0	100	85	85.0
Indianapolis	125	102	5	0	130	102	78.4
Denver	70	60	10	2	80	62	77.5
Detroit	140	110	10	1	150	111	74.0
Brooklyn	220	176	30	4	250	180	72.0
Twin Cities	162	113	3	0	165	113	68.4
Cleveland	100	68	7	5	107	73	68.2
Los Angeles	215	177	60	9	275	186	67.6
Portland	70	44	0	0	70	44	62.8
Toledo	70	40	0	1	70	41	58.5
Philadelphia	120	77	15	0	135	77	57.0
Capital District	105	61	5	1	110	62	56.3
Charleston	30	14	0	0	30	14	46.6
Tidewater	80	35	0	0	80	35	43.7
San Francisco	120	58	30	7	150	65	43.3
Atlanta	100	41	0	0	100	41	41.0
Newark	125	60	25	0	150	60	40.0
San Jose	90	38	35	7	125	45	36.0
Washington, D.C.	120	51	30	2	150	53	35.3
Albuquerque	105	27	15	10	120	37	30.8
Baltimore	90	25	0	0	90	25	27.7
Birmingham	125	33	0	0	125	33	26.4
Miami	70	20	10	0	80	20	25.0
TOTALS	4,807	2,646	593	167	5,400	3,066	56.7

Not reporting: Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Houston, Manhattan, New Orleans, Oakland, St. Louis
Covers issue #12 of the *Militant* and the first week of issue #6 of *PM*.

View of Vietnamese CP leadership

'The differences between the Vietnamese

For over twenty-five years, China and Vietnam were allies in the latter's war against French, then U.S. imperialism.

With the fall of Saigon to Vietnamese liberation forces in 1975, however, differences began to emerge between the leaderships of the two countries. These came to a head in January 1979, when Vietnam intervened to help overthrow the genocidal regime of Pol Pot in Kampuchea; and erupted into open warfare with the (unsuccessful) Chinese invasion of Vietnam the following month.

Faced with this sharp—and, as history is measured, rather sudden—turnabout in relations, the Vietnamese Communist Party has sought an explanation in the historical development of the two countries and their respective revolutions.

The following document, reprinted from the September 25, 1980, edition of 'Vietnam Courier', an English-language journal published in Hanoi, presents the VCP's view.

I. During the National Democratic Revolution

During the years when the Communist Parties were founded in each country, Vietnam and China had the common characteristics of colonial and semifeudal Far-eastern countries: a very small working class (about 0.5% of the population in China in 1921, over 1% in Vietnam in 1930); the Communist Party in each country had to work in a sea of individualistic backward peasants.

The fundamental problem was which class led the revolution—the working class or the peasantry—and on which position the Party should stand to carry out the revolution: on the working class or on the peasantry.

Since its foundation the Communist Party in Vietnam asserted itself as the political party of the working class in order to lead the revolution; it has remained true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism on proletarian revolution in the period of imperialism, following the slogan "Proletarians of the world and oppressed peoples, unite!"

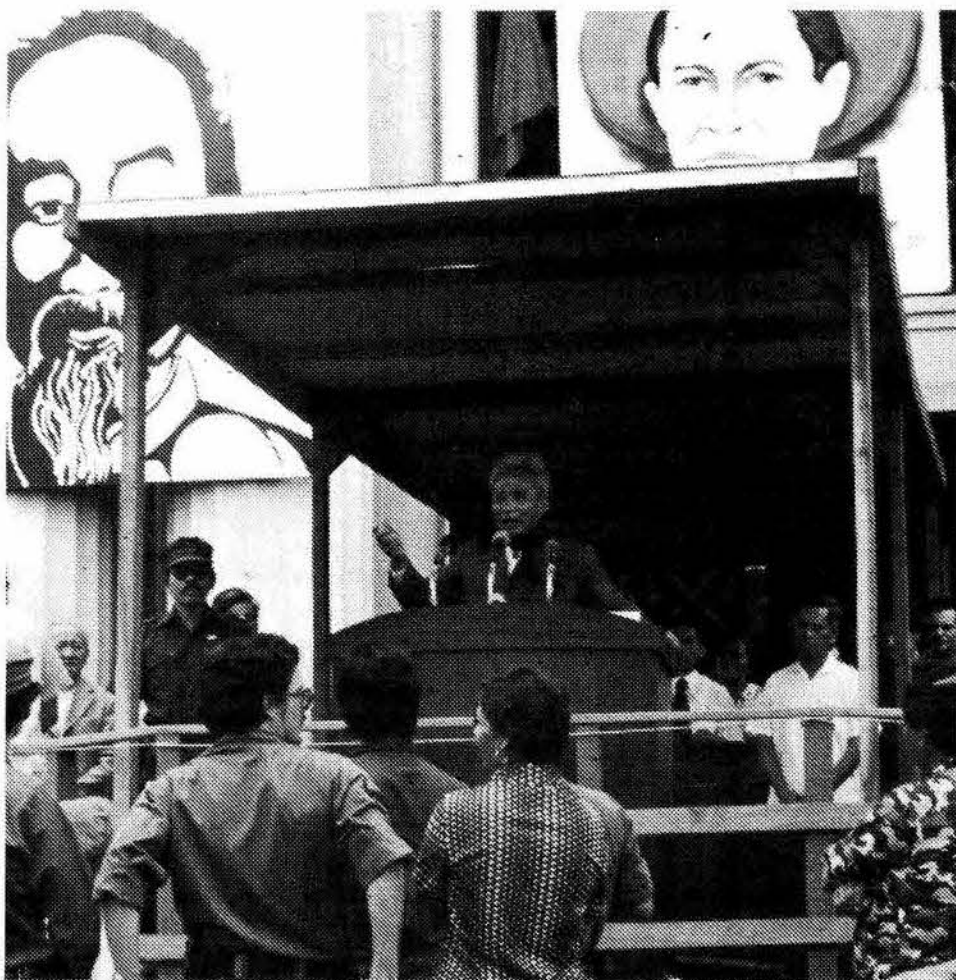
The Party has resolutely upheld the banners of national independence and socialism, has stood closely united with the proletarian movement and the oppressed nations throughout the world, has been guided in all its actions by Marxism-Leninism, has drawn the lessons of the experiences of the various proletarian movements in the world, especially the Great October Socialist Revolution so as to gradually take the Vietnamese revolution to complete victory.

On the contrary, the Chinese Communist Party, since it had been submitted to Maoist leadership, has promoted the peasantry and petty-bourgeois positions to lead the revolution, gradually separating itself from the international communist and workers' movement and finally opposing it.

Worker-peasant alliance

Mao Zedong wrote in his book "On New Democracy": "The politics of new democracy is essentially handing power to the peasants," and "the peasant force is the main force in the Chinese revolution".¹ In Vietnam the Communists clearly understood that it was necessary for Party members coming from petty-bourgeois or intellectual backgrounds, etc., to steep themselves in the life of the proletariat if they wanted to train properly. This meant taking part in manual labour and living with industrial workers, in a word, to become industrial workers.

The leaders of the revolutionary movement in China, on the other hand, always held that cadres should "xia feng," that is to go to the country to mix with poor and landless peasants and learn from them and to become, not



Flanked by leaders of Nicaraguan revolution, Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong addresses September 14, 1979, rally in Managua, welcoming Vietnamese delegation.

workers, but peasants in order to lead the proletarian revolution.

It is precisely owing to this erroneous view of the role of the masses and of the motive forces of the revolution that in 1927 when fiercely attacked by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), they failed to build their forces on the spot within the masses, including the urban and rural population, both workers and peasants.

Instead they had to carry out the Long March and take flight in search of a new base. This was an epic experience but at the same time a bitter historical defeat. They left with 300,000 but only 30,000 remained at the end of the long march. And this was due to the fact that they had failed to take the path of the masses drawn by Marxism-Leninism, they had failed to rely on the working class, to organize and educate the peasants under proletarian leadership.

In Vietnam, the repression exercised by the French colonialists was many times fiercer than that of the Jiang Jieshi clique. However, thanks to a correct working class line, the Party managed to mobilize the workers and peasants to fight side by side. Thus the Party led the workers at Truong Thi, Ben Thuy (Nghe Tinh province) to join the struggle, it created a solid worker-peasant alliance placed under the leadership of the working class. That is why when the revolutionary tide was at its lowest ebb, the Party was able to survive and fight in the very midst of the local population.

In it, the Vietnamese contend the differences essentially revolve around the role of the working class in the revolution. The Chinese CP, they assert, followed a petty-bourgeois strategy that relied exclusively on the peasantry. The Vietnamese revolution, they hold, was based on the political leadership of the working class over the peasant majority.

Subsequent differences in revolutionary strategy, post-revolutionary reconstruction, and later political line, the document maintains, originated with this class distinction.

The analysis put forward today by the VCP to explain its conflict with Peking poses the issue of the revolutionary potential of the industrial working class, even when it is a tiny percentage of the population, as was the case in Vietnam and China.

The VCP's stand is thus likely to play a role in the deepening debates over revolutionary strategy in Asia, and elsewhere in the semicolonial world.

considered the armed struggle as all-powerful.

In organizing the fighting forces, they also took the "peasant road," i.e. they relied on the countryside, and used the countryside to encircle the cities. Mao Zedong considered this to be an original revolutionary initiative in the new situation.²

In carrying out their revolution the Vietnamese have learned from the experience of the Chinese in the war of liberation, but our road was different. We built our armed forces from the mass movement organized by the Party. The red self-defence units born in 1930 were the offspring of the masses' revolutionary organizations, such as the Red Trade Unions, the Red Peasants' Association, the Communist Youth League, etc. They were the tools used by the Party to seize power, but revolutionary power was seized by the mass movement itself, under the leadership of the Party, through political and armed violence; it was by no means born from the barrel of a gun.

The development of the armed forces and the building of revolutionary power during the August Revolution in Vietnam were carried out in the following way. Out of the organizations making up the Viet Minh Front, the Party selected the armed forces. The Party led the masses in co-ordinating the political struggle with the armed struggle to seize power. Revolutionary power, as built by the working class, in return makes use of the armed forces as an instrument of violence to consolidate itself.

In our fight we attach great importance not only to the armed struggle but also to political struggle: co-ordination between political struggle and armed struggle.

As soon as the first revolutionary organization—the Vietnam Propaganda Liberation Detachment—was set up, President Ho Chi Minh said: Its name is the Vietnam Propaganda Liberation Detachment, its primary purpose is to concentrate on political struggle rather than on armed struggle and then to co-ordinate political struggle and armed struggle.

Although the revolutionary army consisted mainly of peasants, its political ideology, military style and military discipline had to conform to those of a proletarian army. In this way it could avoid adventurism, liberalism, indiscipline which are rampant in an army of peasants.

Urban uprisings

Concerning the revolutionary war, we did not simply rely on the countryside and use the countryside to encircle the cities, but agitated for both the cities and the countryside to rise up together.

As a concrete example we can cite Viet Bac as a large base area of the August revolution. We also had a security zone on the outskirts of Hanoi and the town of Ha Dong, a combat zone in the

During the hard period of white terror (1931-32) the Party held firmly to the aims of national independence and socialism. It never wavered or shifted to the peasant position, never gave up the ultimate goal—socialism.

The Party's programme of action was drawn up in June 1932 when the Party was going through its hardest times. The programme still stressed: "The Indochinese workers and peasants, under the guidance of the Communist Party, will take up arms in insurrection to carry out the future tasks of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolutions, and together will advance resolutely towards socialism."

Although subjected to colonialist terror, the party of the Vietnamese working class did not seek refuge by conducting a long march. Instead, it had faith in the masses and restored the revolutionary bases among the masses, which resulted in a speedy recovery of the movement and a new revolutionary upsurge.

Political & armed struggle

In the course of the armed struggle the Chinese revolutionary line consisted in extolling the role of armed violence, while overlooking the political struggle, and considering that revolutionary power is born from the barrel of a gun, and not from the revolutionary movement of the masses. They attributed all revolutionary gains to the armed struggle,

1. Mao Zedong, *Selected Works, Volume II*, Beijing Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1968, p. 546. (Translated from the Vietnamese).

2. *Hongqi Review*, 1977, No. 11, p. 16.

and the Chinese revolutions'

mining areas such as the Dong Trieu Fourth Combat Zone (Quang Ninh) and in the plains such as the Quynh Luu Combat Zone (Ninh Binh).

The Vietnamese revolution evolved in the following way: *to go from partial insurrection to revolutionary war, to coordinate revolutionary war and partial insurrection leading to general offensive and concerted uprisings*. Uprisings can be carried out wherever conditions permit, and it is not necessary to use the countryside to encircle the cities, or to rely on the peasants to liberate the workers as Chinese leaders think.

In proceeding from partial insurrections to a general uprising we brought into play the initiatives, the creativeness of the people throughout the country.

This experience shed light on the path to follow in our recent struggle against U.S. imperialism. While the Chinese leaders advised us to wage a *protracted war*, we opted for *concerted uprisings*. And when we had risen up and won initial victories they were frightened and advised us not to hit too hard because, in their opinion, U.S. imperialism was stronger than us. They also said we should only use forces the size of a platoon or smaller to attack the enemy. But we had our own way to fight the enemy, and won the war.

Because we attached great importance to both political struggle and armed struggle, to the workers and the peasants, because we knew how to bring into play the three strategic zones (the cities and the countryside, the plains and mountain areas), we were able to carry out the strategy of *revolutionary offensive*, of attacking the enemy right from the outset.

When the U.S. imperialists were defeated in their special war and sent their forces *en masse* into South Vietnam, and started a local war, the Chinese leaders advised us to adopt an adventurist military line: to draw the Americans to the North to defeat them. But we insisted on fighting and defeating the Americans in the South itself through revolutionary offensives.

We did not simply start an armed struggle but also made use of all three "offensive spearheads": political struggle, armed struggle, and agitation in the ranks of the enemy. We were able to mobilize not only workers and peasants but also intellectuals, college and school students. The women, in particular, the "long-haired army" as they were also called, dealt deadly political blows to the enemy.

The differences in the line and methods of struggle between Vietnam and China led to differences in building the forces of the revolutionary masses, in building the *National United Front*. The Chinese leaders overestimated the strength of the sea of peasants and overlooked the political struggle, and so did not see the need to build a *long-term* national united front. It should be recalled that the period of the National United Front between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang was a very short one.

Anti-imperialist front

In Vietnam, as early as 1930 the Communist Party, in accordance with the Comintern's policy of anti-imperialist front, decided to build the Indochinese anti-imperialist Alliance, whose aim it was to "unite all the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces to overthrow imperialist rule, to win back complete independence for the Indochinese countries and support the liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies."³

Subsequently, other forms of national united front came into being in conformity with each revolutionary period; such as the Democratic Front in 1936-39, the Viet Minh Front in 1941-51, the Lien Viet Front in 1946-54, the Fatherland Front as from

1955, etc. Our fundamental line still consisted in basing ourselves on *worker-peasant alliance exclusively led by the working class* to rally all the patriotic forces in order to win back national independence and freedom.

The policy of unity advocated by the Vietnamese Party is a lasting one, a consistent one, it conforms to both reason and sentiment, it is a policy of unity based on struggle, love, and a sincere desire to transform human beings.

Such a proletarian line in building of our forces and in organizing the struggle has helped us achieve a position of strength from which to make *continuous attacks*, to fight back the enemy step by step, to defeat him little by little until we achieve complete national liberation.

During the war of resistance against the French colonialists we made continued attacks, combined national revolution with democratic revolution, in order to win victory in both.

In the war of resistance against the U.S. imperialists, we did not advocate waiting for the liberation of South Vietnam to build socialism throughout the country but held that "under all circumstances the North should be consolidated and advance toward socialism".⁴

The Chinese revolution was victorious thanks to the favourable conditions created by the socialist camp which had become a world system. In those conditions any struggle for national salvation which can win the assistance of the world revolutionary movement, which can arouse the masses whose majority is composed of peasants, which can form the spearhead of an attack on the main enemy—the imperialists and their henchmen—is likely to achieve victory.

The Chinese leaders were mistaken in relying too much on the peasants and overlooking the workers. But in the national democratic revolution such a blunder was not too serious since during that period the peasants made up the main force and were inspired by the

land reform to take an active part in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. Not until the socialist revolution did it have serious consequences.

II. During the Socialist Revolution

In Vietnam, when the war for national liberation ended victoriously in 1954 in the North and in 1975 in the South, we relied on the workers to take over the factories in the cities.

In China, the liberation army was composed overwhelmingly of peasants armed with Mao Zedong's thoughts on the role of the peasantry, was entrusted with the task of controlling the cities. A military control was set up, and as a result the armed forces of peasants were used to control the workers in the cities. In 1958 Mao Zedong said: "We should propagate rural style and guerilla habits in the cities."

Chinese workers do not account for a high proportion of the Communist Party's membership.

According to a French document at the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (September 1956), out of 10,734,385 Party members there were only 1,502,814 workers; 1,253,223 intellectuals (in the broad sense); 7,414,459 were of peasant stock. The number of workers in the country increased fairly fast in the first years (1949: 3 million, and after the period of economic development 1949-57 it reached 25.6 million in 1958). And they were mostly workers of large-scale factories.

However, in 1961-62 the Chinese leaders moved nearly 30 million urban inhabitants into the country with the aim of concentrating the work force, materials, and money into agriculture, which they viewed as the most important branch of the national economy. The number of workers and government officials then decreased from 44 million in 1960 to 30 or 31 million in 1962 (factory workers from 22 million to 14.5 million, building workers from 6 million to 2 million). In 1966 the number of

workers decreased again to 12 or 13 million.

The Chinese leaders hold that one can rely on the peasants to do everything, and pretend they "have surpassed Marx." They even view that Marxism is a "European phenomenon," that one should learn from its technique and analytical method and then "de-Europeanize it" and "sinify it."

Mao said at the 6th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (October 1938): "There is no abstract concept of Marxism, there is only concrete Marxism having a national form. To 'sinify Marxism'—so to speak—means that in all its manifestations it must start from the characteristics of China and be applied in conformity with those characteristics."

At the Beidaihe Congress in summer 1958 Mao again said that "in the management of the State we should combine Marx and Qin Shi Huangdi (a Chinese emperor who ran the country by means of a barbarous dictatorship).

Transition from capitalism

In Lenin's view, the more backward a country is, the more historical detours it has to go through, the more difficulties it will meet in the transition from the capitalist relations to socialist relations. For besides the task of destroying the old regime, there is the more difficult task of organizing the new one. But the Chinese leaders hold that the more backward the economy, the easier the transition from capitalism to socialism is, because "the poorer they are, the more attached the people are to the revolution."

They put forward adventurist policies, such as *building people's communes*, which was to be the shortest and easiest way to communism. In fact, they were a form of rudimentary egalitarianism and ascetic socialism.

They abolished rationing on daily necessities and adopted a system of free supplies in order to impose an austere way of life. At the Beidaihe Conference Mao stated: "To adopt a system of free supplies, to put into practice a communist way of life means to oppose the Marxist way to the capitalist way."

The Chinese leaders approved the initiative of abolishing payment of salary according to work done and bonuses, and considered that stressing material benefits was short-sighted individualism. This policy resulted in a reduction of production.

This petty-bourgeois adventurist line also manifested itself in the Great Leap Forward, the Steel and Iron Produced by All movements. In 1958 two million rudimentary and Martin blast furnaces were built, at the cost of 3.8 million *renminbi* (Chinese currency). 80 million tonnes of coal were used to produce steel and pig iron (up to December 1958). However the 9 or 10 million tonnes of pig iron and over 4 million tonnes of steel produced were not usable.

Each one of the "three red banners" (general line, great leap forward, and people's communes) was a hard blow to the working class, the peasant-worker alliance, and undermined social production.

At the Lushan Conference in 1959 Mao admitted:

"I've made two mistakes: first, to appeal for massive production of steel and pig iron, second, to appeal for the building of people's communes. It seems that I am responsible for that." At the 9th plenum of the Party Central Committee (8th legislature) held in January 1961, Mao again admitted: "We were impatient with the transition period."

Cultural revolution

The failure of that policy led to deep rifts within the ranks of the Beijing ruling circles. Mao started the *cultural revolution* through which he extolled ascetic socialism, criticized the relatively easy life of those who relied on their labor

Continued on next page



Hostilities between Chinese and Vietnamese leaderships erupted into open warfare after Vietnamese troops helped overthrow Pol Pot tyranny in Kampuchea. Above, remains of Kampuchean butchers by that regime. Below, Vietnamese soldiers talk with Kampuchean militiawomen following liberation.

3. *Party Documents (1930-45) Volume 1*, Hanoi, 1977, p. 143 (in Vietnamese).



Vietnamese document blames peasant-based strategy of Mao (left, with Stalin in Moscow) for disastrous moves such as the attempt to pressure Chinese peasants and workers into 'people's communes' in the late 1950s.



Continued from preceding page

to earn their living considering these people as having followed the capitalist path.

On 16 July 1966 Mao swam in the Yang-tse river. On 26 July 1966, Renmin Ribao urged the youth "to master the rules of the revolution in the storm of class struggle, to learn how to swim in class struggle." On 18 August 1966 a million red guards demonstrated. The number of red guards rapidly increased: 11 million college and school students and 50 million youth rose up to carry out the cultural revolution. It was in fact a move to overthrow Liu Shaoqi and consolidate Mao's position. This was a large-scale purge disguised under the theory of "continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship."

The period of "Great Chaos" lasted from 11 January 1966 to September 1967, but the consequences of the cultural revolution lasted longer. The damage done to China was enormous.

In Vietnam things were quite different. The Vietnamese revolution continued to advance steadily. It always stood firm on the proletarian position, holding high the banners of national independence and socialism.

In 1954 the country was divided into two, the North was exhausted because of the war, but the Party was resolved to take it to socialism, on the basis of a Marxist analysis of problems and advantages. It applied objective laws creatively and guided the entire society to advance step by step without burning stages.

The three years from 1955 through 1957 were devoted to restoring and developing the economy and developing our culture, with the aim of reaching the 1939 level. In the rehabilitation of the economy we paid attention to the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance, pressing for recovery of both industry and agriculture.

We never failed to strengthen the working class both in quality and in numbers. During those years the number of factories increased from 31 (in 1955) to 150 (in 1957), the number of workers and public servants increased from 170,000 to 250,000.

We emphasized ideological education, raised the cultural and technical level and upheld the role of the workers in State management. On 14 September 1957 the Law on Trade Unions was adopted by the National Assembly.

Once the economy had recovered, we started to solve the contradictions between the advanced revolutionary power on the one hand and the backward social and production relations on the other: the three-year plan (1958-1960) was drawn up. It was a plan aimed at transforming and developing the economy, developing culture, in order to transform in a socialist way all the elements of the national economy, the central task being the transformation of agriculture.

In 1960, 85.8 per cent of peasant households, accounting for 68.1 per cent of the land joined the agricultural cooperatives, 218,000 artisans out of 305,000 joined the handicrafts cooperatives and became engaged in collective production.

All the bourgeois households in industry and trade entered the joint State-private enterprises, cooperatives, or cooperative enterprises. The number of workers continued to grow. The number of enterprises increased from 150 in 1957 to 1,012 in 1960, the number of workers from 250,000 to 480,000.

We opposed the ideas of "waiting for the South" and of "allowing capitalism a period of development in order to create the material and technical premises for socialism" etc. We did not allow subjectivism, voluntarism, and rightist errors to slow down the advance of the revolution.

Industrialization

Subsequently, we solved the contradictions between the advanced relations of production and the backward material and technical basis. The first Five-year-plan (1961-1965) was aimed at industrialisation. While in China the order of precedence in the branches of the economy was agriculture, light industry, heavy industry; we regarded industry as the basis for the development of the national economy, and followed the policy of "prioritizing the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry."

We consider the scientific and technological revolution to be the linchpin in solving the above-mentioned contradiction. Unlike the Chinese leaders who underestimate the role of intellectuals, we pay much attention to enlarging the body of scientific workers, technicians and skilled workers.

Taking the 1960 levels as units:

	1965	1969	1973
Scientific workers & technicians	5.5	9.5	15.5
Graduates and post-graduates	5.4	10.7	20.6
Secondary vocational education level	5.6	9.1	13.9
Skilled workers	2.5	3.1	4.5

(Year-book of Statistics, 1974, p. 80)

Parallel to the revolution in relations of production and the scientific and technological revolution we are carrying out an ideological and cultural revolution, building the new social system, the new economy, the new culture, and the new people. Our cultural revolution consists in building a popular, national, scientific, socialist culture, a culture of the people, for the people, with the aim of helping them to become their own collective masters with all the qualities of a socialist people, to inherit the fine traditions of the nation and stand united in mutual love and fidelity.

This is diametrically opposed to China's cultural revolution. In China the cultural revolution and even "the critic-

ize Lin Biao, criticize Confucius campaign" failed to wipe out the vestiges of Confucianism. Conversely, they consolidated bureaucratism, dictatorship, paternalism, which are the essence of Confucianism.

In Vietnam, collective mastery means eradicating the vestiges of Confucianism, especially the "gang chang" theory (old-style social relations in which the King, the father and the husband reign supreme respectively over their subjects, children and wives).

Foreign policy

So far as foreign relations are concerned the difference between Vietnam and China is even more obvious.

Vietnam consistently upholds the principles of proletarian internationalism, maintains a policy of independence, sovereignty, and international solidarity. We regard the socialist camp as the centre for unity and have contributed to stepping up the three currents of the world revolution: socialist revolution, the movement for national liberation, and the movement of struggle for democracy and peace in the capitalist countries.

China is carrying out a policy of great-power expansionism. The Beijing leaders hold that Leninism has fulfilled the historic mission of Marxism in the period of imperialism and that now Mao Zedong's thought is Marxism-Leninism in the period of total collapse of imperialism. They deem that the centre of world revolution is shifting to the world of ex-colonies, to China.

In the relations between socialist countries they stress equality in order to compete with the Soviet Union.

In 1965, they stated that they had the right to oppose the common resolutions of the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the Communist and Workers' Parties which they had adopted. It has become increasingly clear that Mao's statement "the East Wind Prevails over the West Wind" at the 1957 Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties implied that the Chinese wind had prevailed over the Soviet wind, and not that socialism had prevailed over imperialism.

When they said they opposed Soviet revisionism, they aimed at hegemonism among the socialist countries and the third world. In 1962 they held that there were only 5 socialist countries: China, Vietnam, Korea, Romania, and Albania. Between these 5 countries and the two super-powers, namely the Soviet Union and the United States, there were two buffer zones: the third world and the second world (Japan and Western Europe).

'Three worlds theory'

This is the source of the "three worlds theory." This theory was expressed by Deng Xiaoping in the two speeches he made at the United Nations General Assembly on 15 October 1971 and 10 April 1974: "The socialist camp continued to

exist for some time after the Second World War, and no longer exists" and "the U.S. and the Soviet Union make up the first world. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and a number of other zones belong to the third world. Those developed countries which stand between the two above-mentioned worlds make up the second."

The aim of the "three-worlds theory" is to erase socialism as a factor of world politics, a factor which determines the positioning of the main opposing camps in the world.

China has gone out of its way to court the United States and Japan, and volunteered its services as a counter-revolutionary shock force. It has made a volte-face in its relations with Vietnam; it has invaded Vietnam, then raised a hue and cry about "great hegemonism" and "small hegemonism," and put an end to the treaty of mutual assistance signed with the Soviet Union.

What is particularly dangerous is that the Chinese are trying their best to make war propaganda, while Vietnam perseveres in its stand for peace. We would only resort to just wars to oppose unjust ones in order to defend our independence and preserve peace. The Chinese leaders say that war is "a normal phenomenon in the relations between two worlds, and that each generation must have its own war." To them war is a means of carrying out their expansionist and hegemonistic designs.

The correct, just and creative policy followed by Vietnam, her absolute loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a mirror reflecting the road of betrayal followed by the Chinese ruling circle over the past few decades. This genuinely revolutionary line is also the fundamental guarantee of the Vietnamese people's certain victory over the Chinese reactionaries if they recklessly start another war of aggression against Vietnam.

(After an article by Văn Tao, published in the journal *Nghiên Cứu Lịch Sử*—Historical Studies—No. 1 and 3, 1980).

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'Labor gives us some power'

Why they joined Harrisburg antinuclear march

By Suzanne Haig

They came by the thousands to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania on March 28 to demand an end to nuclear power, jobs for all, and to show support to the miners.

George, a young Black from United Furniture Workers Local 75 in Baltimore, gave his opinion on nuclear power.

"The nuclear industry is talking about building more plants—I don't know why, when they don't know what to do about the wastes. They said nuclear power was cheaper for electricity, but the rates haven't gone down.

"What's the use of messing with something that can destroy us when it's not even doing what it's supposed to?

"I don't like nuclear bombs, either," he continued. "If they use a bomb, then no one will be able to go in that part of the world. If we bomb someone, they will bomb us over here."

Al Hart came from Erie, Pennsylvania, 300 miles away. He is a member of United Electrical Workers Local 506. "Our local takes the position to let that company [General Public Utilities, owners of Three Mile Island] go bankrupt and have the public own it. Public utilities should belong to the public."

This was the first national demonstration against nuclear power to be initiated and organized by the labor movement. The United Mine Workers played a major role in bringing the action about.

Pat Olson, a student at Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti, came with a busload of antidraft activists from Washtenaw County CARD (Committee Against Registration and the Draft).

He thought the involvement of labor in the demonstration was great. "The days of the hard hats opposing liberal causes is long gone. The problem of the 1960's was that labor wasn't involved.

'Issues not separate'

"People need to get rid of the idea that all issues are different—separate entities—to be fought in isolation from each other. I don't think they are separate. They are all a matter of the same thing, and the labor movement, especially, has to get involved.

"It's beginning here with nuclear power, and this has to extend to women's rights, disarmament, and opposition to U.S. military presence around the world."

Colleen Hoke is a student from Pennsylvania State College in Middleton, where Three Mile Island is located.

Hoke was glad to see labor on the march, especially the miners, "because of their history. They will give us a push and some power.

"We need to organize more," was her opinion on strategy. "We need what we had during the Viet-

nam War—everyone coming together."

I had a long talk with a young miner from District 5, Local 2377. We talked mostly about the strike. His local had postponed discussion on the contract until the next day, so that members could come to Harrisburg.

"The press will try to make us look bad," he said, "like we're irresponsible, striking when we're getting \$3 an hour more. But it's a bad contract. Once nonunion coal gets in, that's it for the union."

Union companies purchasing nonunion coal have had to pay double royalties to the miners' pension fund. The contract eliminates this.

This was his first demonstration. "But I've been on a lot of pickets," he said, "I'll probably be on a lot more. I'm ready for it.

"It's better to fight than take what they're giving us—that's like accepting defeat.

'College in mines'

"They think we are stupid. But we've been to college—in the mines. We know what we're talking about."

He said he thought there would be more solidarity for the miners this time than there was in the 1978 strike. "We have to get together like in Poland. They really have guts there."

I talked to Joyce Hall, the recording secretary for Local 61083, and Sandra Evans, Local 2261, at an open house held by the Socialist Workers Party after the demonstration. Both women came from southwestern Virginia.

Hall told me her trip was sponsored by her local. "It was a big cut from our funds, but it was worthwhile. We're going to send someone from now on to all these actions.

"We are a small local, but we believe in sticking together. All the officers of the local feel strongly about working people uniting. We all pay taxes and have a right to say what happens to them.

"No one likes what the rich are doing. They are taking our money and spending it on nuclear power and treating us like children. We're working and not getting any better off, and they're just fattening their pockets. All working people should come together and run the country the way they want to."

Hall thought the people in El Salvador were fighting "to better themselves, to make a decent living. We don't think they should be slaughtered. We should stay out."

Green ribbons

I talked to a Black woman from Harrisburg active in the Northwest Alliance, a group organizing support for the Atlanta children. Referring to the number of green ribbons worn by marchers, she said, "It's good to see whites and Blacks promoting



Militant/Osborne Hart

a concern about Atlanta. It's a national concern for all of us."

Dewitt Walton, a Black man, came with a contingent of forty members of United Steel Workers Local 1010 from Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana.

Walton was particularly concerned about jobs. About three years ago, the steel companies went on a big campaign, like the auto industry is doing now, to convince steelworkers that imported steel was responsible for unemployment.

"I knew four years ago that this wouldn't save jobs," Walton said. "They wanted to increase production and lay off workers.

"In the last two months there are fewer steelworkers than in 1963 when they first kept records—while production is nine to ten times higher.

"A shorter work week with no cut in pay would definitely help. It would simply increase the jobs. Workers should also refuse overtime, because the company uses that to eliminate jobs."

Philip Jones is from Grenada. Currently a student in Brooklyn, he fought in the revolution that overthrew the oppressive Gairy regime. "The destruction then [under Gairy] was very bad," he told me. "It was very hard for the people to cope with. There was no alternative but to fight against it."

I asked him about the U.S. role in Central America and the Caribbean.

"The U.S. should lift the blockade from Cuba and get out of El Salvador," he said.

This was his first demonstration in the United States. I asked him what he thought about it. "It's beautiful. It makes me remember Grenada."

Mine workers official blasts nuclear power

The following are major excerpts from the speech of Willard Esselstyn, treasurer of the United Mine Workers Union, to the March 28 demonstration for safe energy in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Greetings, brothers and sisters.

Over a quarter of a million members of the United Mine Workers of America stand ready to join with you and say, "Wake Up America!" Wake up to the grim visage of death in whose shadow we stand. Wake up to the insanity of allowing Three Mile Island to spread across our land.

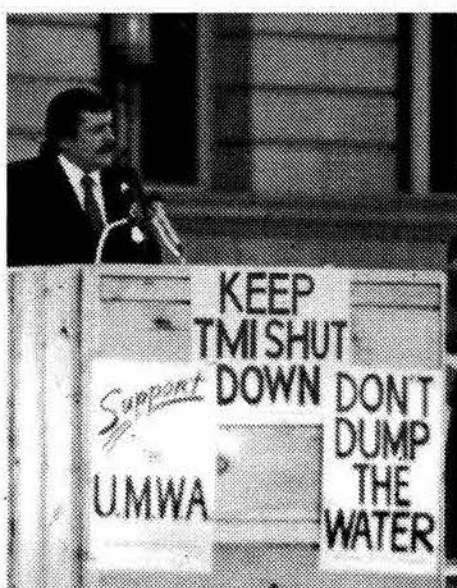
No one died here, we are told. A little more training, some more engineering, and everything will be fine.

"No big loss," they say. "But could the government loan us a few bucks to tide us over until things are cleaned up a bit?"

Labor history of struggle

We in the Mine Workers and in the trade union movement have learned from our own history of struggle against robber barons, mighty corporations, and our insensitive government.

Seventy-four years ago, a mine explosion killed 361 men in the bowels of the earth not far from here, in Monongah, West Virginia. Congress held its hearings. As a result, the U.S. Bureau



WILLARD ESSELSTYN

Militant/Stu Singer

of Mines was created.

But the coal industry big shots made sure it had nothing more to do than suggest improvements in production techniques. They convinced Congress that coal mining was always going to be a risky business.

In 1951, 119 men died in a mine explosion in Orient, Illinois. Hearings were held again. The first Federal Coal Mine Safety Act was enacted—with no teeth, no inspectors with enforcement

authority, no power to fine unsafe operations, and no power to stop dangerous practices.

Then came the Mannington mine disaster in 1968, at Farmington, West Virginia. Again, not far from here, seventy-eight more lives lost needlessly. This time, we in the mines took matters into our own hands. Coal would be mined safely or not at all.

Congress got the message. The landmark Coal Mine Health and Safety Act passed.

Who will be around?

If America has to suffer through nuclear disasters like our members suffered through Monongah, Orient, and Mannington before we wake up to the dangers of nuclear energy, who will be around to hold hearings and pass laws?

I for one don't want to wait for an answer!

Wake up America! Take warning from those of us who've already fought health and safety battles in our own industries. We've survived our disasters, but at the cost of 100,000 lives since the turn of the century.

That may seem to be a staggering sum to many, but it is nothing compared to the hundreds of thousands who would be affected by one nuclear meltdown.

This is not solely an issue of public health and safety, though that must be our first concern.

The economic facts of nuclear power—in its construction, its lack of insurance against public disasters, and the staggering costs of disposing of lethal wastes—can't justify one more plant.

Without the massive federal subsidies of the last three decades, nuclear power would have never gotten off the ground.

End folly now!

We must end this folly—now! We in the UMW stand committed to stop the spread of nuclear power—now!

It won't be easy.

The corporate profiteers will mount a slick campaign against us, using every slogan and gimmick at their beck and call. Their puppets will be calling us crazies, obstructionists, and environmental freaks. Members of my union are used to that—we've been called worse.

But we are a determined bunch. Determined that the chorus of our voices will be heard throughout the land. And together, we will arouse our fellow Americans with the cry, "Stop nuclear power now!"

Free Grenada marks

By Malik Miah

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada—Two years ago on March 13, the 110,000 people of Grenada ended the brutal dictatorship of Eric Gairy and began the construction of a free and revolutionary Grenada.

I had the pleasure to be with the new men and women of this beautiful Caribbean island from March 9 to March 17 as they celebrated their second anniversary.

The Grenadian population is mostly Black.

Having just arrived from the richest country in the world—where Black children are murdered in the streets, where auto and steel workers face the constant threat of unemployment, where women are denied equal rights—it was a joy to visit a country where the people have taken their destiny into their own hands.

As leaders of the People's Revolutionary Government, the NJM, and the mass organizations explain, the revolution is still in its infancy, facing many threats from enemies abroad and some reactionaries inside the country. Yet it is obvious even to a visitor that Grenada is a nation in transition, a country throwing off the shackles of imperialist domination and moving toward freedom.

Second anniversary

The people's support for the government and the changes already brought about by the revolution were clearly expressed at the spirited march and rally held here on Friday, March 13.

The march and rally culminated weeks of celebrations across the island and the sister islands of Petit Martinique and Carriacou. In each town and village cultural events, sporting events, and political rallies and meetings took place to discuss the progress of the revolution.

On March 8, International Women's Day, a rally of 6,000 women and men took place at the northern end of the island. March 9-12 were set aside as days of solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of Palestine, Western Sahara, and others the world over.

On March 13, some 10,000 Grenadians marched through the streets of St. George's and rallied at Queens Park.

Young Pioneers led the way in white T-Shirts with a large red dot in the middle—the symbol of the Grenada revolution.

They were followed by a parade that included a steel band playing lively reggae music that people danced to as they marched. Represented in the march were contingents from the mass organizations and from towns across the island. It included workers, farmers, students, women, unemployed youth, and many supporters of the revolution from around the world.

In new uniforms provided by Nicaragua, members of the militia, army, police, and prison service, marched at the end of the parade, along with nurses in bright white uniforms.

The crowd gave a great round of applause when the defense forces proudly marched into the rally site. The main banner at the celebration read, "Workers of Grenada Salute 2nd Anniversary of the Revolution." The banner of the National Women's Organization proudly proclaimed, "NWO Women Participate Equally in Production and Defense."

The most popular T-shirt worn read, "Grow more food, build the revolution."

Guests and friends of Grenada also came to the rally. Many foreign governments sent representatives, including the Soviet Union and other workers states in Eastern Europe, plus Vietnam, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Governments from the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean were also represented. Although Grenada seeks

friendly relations with the U.S. and British governments, these failed to send representatives.

However, Grenadians living in the United States and Americans who support the revolution were present. They included representatives of the Black United Front, the newly formed National Black Independent Political Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, and numerous individuals from the U.S.-Canada-Grenada Friendship Societies.

Cuban, Nicaraguan solidarity

The special guests at the celebrations, however, were the delegates from the two other revolutionary governments in the region—Cuba and Nicaragua.

In fact, the loudest applause and chants were reserved for when the first Black man to orbit the earth arrived at the stadium: Lt. Col. Arnaldo Tamayo Mendez of Cuba. Chants of "Tamayo! Tamayo!" rang through the park.

The Cuban delegation also included Sergio del Valle, the minister of public health and member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba. He gave greetings to the rally.

Next to Tamayo, the biggest applause erupted when the delegation from revolutionary Nicaragua arrived at the bandstand. The Sandinista delegation was led by Commander Luis Carrión, a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, and also included Father Ernesto Cardenal, the Nicaraguan minister of culture.

In his speech to the rally, Carrión pledged Nicaragua's continued support to the Grenadan revolution. He expressed thanks for Grenada's internationalist aid in sending two teachers to help in the literacy drive in Nicaragua's English-speaking Atlantic Coast region.

'We are the future'

Before the speeches were given, however, the Young Pioneers performed, dancing to Stevie Wonder's "Happy Birthday" tune. Then they lined up in a row, the letters on their T-shirts spelling out: "We are the future of the revolution."

This display of youthful enthusiasm reflected the depth of support the people of Grenada have for the gains of the revolution.

The chair of the rally, Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, noted that the revolution is a hundred times stronger than it was a year ago because of the higher political consciousness of the people.

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop elaborated on this point in his main address, which was listened to closely by all in attendance. Bishop discussed the progress of the revolution, the tasks that remain, and its overall political perspectives from the standpoint of workers and farmers around the world.

Bishop began with a look at the world crisis of capitalism:

"As we meet here today for the second anniversary, we do so at a time of great crisis in the world, a time of big international industrial crisis, particularly in the Western world. We do so at a time, comrades, when millions of people in the industrialized Western world are roaming the streets looking for work . . . a time when people are making comparisons with the period of the 1920s and 1930s, the period of the great depression.

Inflation, illiteracy, hunger

"A time in the world, sisters and brothers, when we are seeing daily runaway inflation. A time in the world when we are seeing a worsening of the balance of trade for developing countries. A time in the world when there is a great deterioration of the conditions of the rural poor of the poorest coun-



Sign (left) extends welcome to Free Grenada. Right, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop at rally

tries in the world.

"A time, in fact, where in some countries illiteracy is actually on the increase. A time when by all estimates . . . over 500 million people every night are going to bed hungry with nothing to put into their stomachs. A time when the United Nations has estimated that a great crisis in food production will get even worse unless resources are set aside now to begin to deal with this difficult problem.

"A time, sisters and brothers, when there is a serious, worldwide environmental problem, when industrial pollution is affecting the air, is affecting the water, is affecting the land.

"Owners of plants following the pursuit of dollars are doing this indiscriminately without any regard to the health and welfare of the poorer people of the world."

Bishop then turned to the response

of the Reagans, the Thatchers, and other servants of the multinational corporations to this crisis. The imperialists, Bishop explained, demand even more blood from the neocolonial countries, as well as from their own workers.

Reagan's cutbacks

"This present crisis in the world, sisters and brothers, is so bad that the richest country in the world has taken a decision to close down even hospitals, to close down even schools, to cut back on food stamps that they give to poor people, to cut back on surgical assistance for poor people, to cut back on government subsidies to help the poorest farmers to stay in production, to cut back on student loans and grants that assist the poorest students who are receiving a university education, to cut back in fact on subsidies for

Gains after two years of

Despite Grenada's small size and limited resources, the accomplishments of the revolution after its first two years are already quite impressive.

In 1978, only three students received scholarships from the Gairy regime; during the first year of the revolution 109 Grenadians received scholarships.

Following the passage of the Trade Union Recognition Action, about 80 percent of the workforce has been able to join unions, compared to 30 percent under Gairy.

Costs of basic food staples are kept down. Cheap fertilizer is provided to farmers. Housing materials are provided free or at low-interest loans to workers and farmers. Technical and other forms of assistance are provided to unemployed workers ready to cultivate unused lands.

Women have won the right to equal pay for equal work. Women workers now get paid maternity leave. Women have taken on active roles at all levels of the mass organizations and trade unions.

One of the biggest successes has been in the field of education. Last year witnessed the launching of a

major literacy campaign. Although 85 percent of all Grenadians were considered to be literate, the level of education was very low. The government thus established the Centre for Popular Education (CPE) to carry out a literacy drive in three phases.

The first phase, completed at the end of this February, wiped out most of the illiteracy. Education Minister George Louison reported that the illiteracy rate is now down to 6 or 7 percent. Most importantly, the CPE was able to mobilize thousands of Grenadians to participate as volunteer teachers or as students. CPE brigades travelled to all three islands and to every town and village in the country.

The second phase, which begins in April, aims to provide adult education and training programs. According to Bishop, this phase involves "not just reading and writing. It is also about consciousness, about developing a nation that, for the first time, will begin to put proper values on those things that are important."

Other areas in which the revolution has made progress are in fishing and agriculture.

Under Gairy, the government had

second anniversary



1g second anniversary of revolution.

Young Socialist photos by Donald Massey and Kara Obradovic

s programs, including programs benefit handicapped children.

s crisis is so bad that this coun- s decided to allow factories to allow their people to roam the in their millions, daily joined by nds more looking for jobs that t available."

crisis of the imperialist coun- Bishop pointed out, has an im- Grenada and other small, poor ies and nations whose econo- re distorted by imperialism.

rades, this economic crisis that countries are facing has rather effects on our own country and ny, because our country and ountries like ours are dependent ir economies. When their econo- un into trouble, ours also feels fects of that trouble. When they , we in the Third World catch a hen they run into problems, we

are the ones who feel it even more than their own people."

Despite the crisis of the world capi- talist economy, Grenada has been able to register many concrete advances for its people. It has been able to do so for one simple reason: the workers and farmers of Grenada run the govern- ment—not the super rich.

Because of that, Bishop could confi- dently state, "We believe, in Grenada, that it is possible even in the face of these difficulties for progress to be made, that it is possible for the country to continue to move forward even in the face of these difficulties. We believe that there are ways of achieving this objective."

He presented three formulas for pro- gress that no Thatcher or Reagan could ever stand on.

"First and foremost," Bishop said, "we believe in the need for honesty

with the people. We believe it is impor- tant to always tell the people the truth, to always give the people the facts, even when they are bad facts, to never lull the people into a false sense of trusting, to never deceive the people, to never make them believe that by some miracle suddenly things are going to improve without greater effort, and greater sacrifice, and greater produc- tion on our part.

"Be honest with the people, tell the people the facts, get the people to know the real truth of our future.

"The second formula that we believe to be important is the need to adopt a conscious policy to put the people at the center, to put the people at the focus of all of the activities of the government, the state, and the revolu- tion. To always aim to involve, to always aim to have the people partici- pate, to always seek to deepen the unity of the people, because a people that is mobilized is a people that is ready to face the future.

"The third formula is that we . . . take an approach toward building our country that stresses the basic needs of our people, an approach that looks inward to the problems of our country, an approach that looks to the realities of our country, and not an approach that looks outward to the needs of other people's countries that are al- ready richer than our own."

These are the three foundations on which progress is being made in revo- lutionary free Grenada. They provide examples to workers and farmers around the world.

Gains for masses

Bishop outlined some of the gains made over the last two years based on this approach.

"While others are cutting back on medical care and medical systems for the poor in their countries, we have moved instead to double the number of doctors who are available to add to the quantity and quality of health care in our country. We have moved to triple the number of dentists in our country. We have moved to establish for the first time in our country after over 350 years free medical attention for all of the people in all areas of the country today.

"While others are choosing to close their schools, we are choosing to build new schools. And in fact over the past

year we opened a new secondary school. . . . And if this sounds like a small achievement, sisters and broth- ers, I want to remind you that after 350 years of British colonialism and twenty-nine years of Gairyism, only one single secondary school was ever build in our country out of public funds. . . .

"While others, brothers and sisters, are cutting subsidies and cutting grants to their schools, we are looking to expand our facilities for our people. We are now providing in our primary schools free milk and a subsidized meal system for all of the children in the primary schools who are in need of assistance. We have moved to the point where we have doubled the number of scholarships to secondary schools so that the children of our country, all of them, are able to receive a secondary education free of cost."

Threats by imperialism

Because of the example provided by the Grenada revolution—and because of Grenada's close friendship with Cuba—imperialist powers view Gre- nade as a direct challenge to their continued domination over the Carib- bean. From the early days of the revolution, they have threatened Gre- nade, sought to isolate it, and provided aid and encouragement to local coun- terrevolutionary elements.

Because of this, Bishop explained that the watchwords of the revolution were "production and defense."

The active mobilization and partici- pation of the people in all aspects of the revolution, including the People's Militia, is recognized as the only way to counter the destabilization attempts of imperialism.

Today, Bishop explained, some for- ces are trying to drive Grenada out of the Caribbean Community (CARI- COM), and Washington has stationed a naval task force in the Caribbean.

Bishop also took up the Reagan administration's campaign against "international terrorism," which it is using as a justification to threaten insurgent peoples.

"What they are doing," Bishop ex- plained, "is moving from attacking countries like South Africa or Chile or South Korea. What they are doing by attacking international terrorists is trying to lump together the socialist countries, the Nonaligned countries,

Continued on next page

evolution

ern fishing trawlers. It now o trawlers, given to it by the ment of Cuba. The first fish ing plant was opened last

arable land in Grenada is utilized, and a third is not ted at all. The government's 1981 is to not only grow more at least enough for all of the s basic staples—but also to Grenada to become an expor- processed fruits and vegeta-

a result of the government's ands for idle hands" program, loyment has been reduced to er 30 percent, from more than cent at the time of the revolu- This is mainly a result of g people back to the land by g agricultural cooperatives.

of the most ambitious projects building of the island's first ational airport. Cuba has pro- several hundred construction s and is contributing one- of the cost of the airport, y in heavy construction equip-

—M.M.

Groups urge world solidarity

The day after the anniversary celebration, representatives of pro- gressive groups from around the world met and issued a statement in solidarity with the revolution. The statement urged supporters of Free Grenada to carry out the following four tasks:

"(1) respond to anti-Grenada pro- paganda in the media and in other forms by communicating the reali- ties of the Grenada process;

"(2) provide, wherever possible, political, technical, and material support to the people and govern- ment of Grenada—for example, by supporting the book drive, and by purchasing international airport bonds;

"(3) work at all times for the development of national policies towards Grenada and the Carib- bean which are supportive of pro- gressive changes in the region;

"(4) encourage progressive organi- zations and individuals to sponsor and engage in visits to Grenada so that they may see for themselves and understand the truth about the Grenada revolution."

—M.M.

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Farmers strengthen ties with workers

Polish Rural Solidarity holds congress

By Jacqueline Allio

The following article appeared in the March 13, 1981, issue of the French Trotskyist weekly 'Rouge.' The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press.'

POZNAN—"Farmers! Our strength is in unity. Let's follow the example of Workers' Solidarity. Let's not be divided." This was the appeal from the organizing committee of the first congress of the Independent Self-Run Union of Independent Farmers (NSZZRI) Solidarity, which took place in Poznan on March 8 and 9.

The gathering was a unity congress in that it brought together representatives of the different associations that had been established recently. The 490 delegates came from all regions of the country, representing between one-fifth and one-third of Poland's three million independent farmers.

On the platform were Jan Porozniak, the worker who had initiated the strike at the Gdansk shipyards; Father Sadlowski, the small, well-known priest from Zbrosza Duza (the only village to have gone on strike in August in support of the workers); and a representative of miners' 'Solidarity.' Their presence symbolized the organizers' desire to do everything possible to strengthen the ties between workers and farmers.

"We do not preach provocation, but there is no question of backing down. This union must exist, it must be legalized. Everything depends on us, on us all," Lech Walesa stated in his opening remarks.

"We will do all we can to help you," added Stanislaw Wondolowski in the name of the National Coordinating Commission (KKP) of Solidarity. But he quickly added: "No, we're not going to help you, we are all going to help ourselves because we have common interests."

The majority of independent farmers work under impossible conditions. No agricultural machines, no spare parts, no fertilizer, no construction material, not to mention the impoverished social services and the discrimination against farmers in regard to retirement and all sorts of allocations.

The objectives of the farmers' union are both simple and ambitious. They are simple in the sense that they aim above all to defend the interests of the union members—to guarantee ownership of the land against the bureaucracy's expectations, and to improve the conditions of life and social position of farmers.

They are ambitious because they call for the right to "a real self-management that would make it possible to regain the confidence of the farmers, which has been destroyed by years of errors regarding agricultural policy" (NSZZRI Solidarity from the Poznan region).



Above, members of Rural Solidarity farmers organization. Below, Polish union leader Lech Walesa with steelworkers during four-hour general strike called to back farmers' and other demands.

"We are not antisocialist," a farmer from Torun told me. "Socialism has existed for thirty-five years. It has to be transformed, that's for sure, but we must go forward."

There has not been any decline whatsoever in the combativity of the farmers that was seen in the strikes that took place in southern Poland and in the street demonstrations organized in solidarity by the farmers in a number of cities in the north.

"The regime is making a fool of itself: it refuses to legalize Rural Solidarity, but the government representatives signed the Rzeszow accords with a strike committee 'acting in the name of the founding committee of the independent national union of independent farmers.' It would be good if it yielded!" said one of the leaders of the Rzeszow strike.

There are many who remain optimistic, asserting that it won't be necessary to have a test of strength to force the government to legally recognize Rural Solidarity.

governments in other parts of the world unless they change their stance.

In response to such heavy-handed blackmail, Bishop said that Grenada would continue to support the struggles of oppressed peoples. "We give our fullest support to the people of El Salvador," he declared.

International solidarity

In closing his report to the anniversary rally, Bishop appealed for international solidarity.

"We ask you to form more friendship organizations, and expand your memberships even further in America, Canada, and England," he said. "We appreciate the material support you have given to Grenada. . . . We ask you to answer the propaganda against Grenada. We ask you to push the slogan, 'Come see for yourself.' Do not let others tell you about Grenada. Come see it for yourself."

The program they discussed

The first national congress of the farmers' union was preceded by a wide-ranging discussion between and within the different organizations. In some cases these regional organizations had even formulated programs, which were then discussed by the participants in the congress and will serve as a basis for writing the program of the new organization.

For example, the union from the Poznan region, after recapitulating the main demands of all the farmers, wrote:

"The union acts in the name of the entire nation. It will support all efforts aimed at increasing agricultural production with the goal of assuring Polish self-sufficiency in food. The union will support the development of democratically elected rural self-management councils. It will do whatever is necessary to fully achieve the cooperative idea in the countryside."

After asserting its willingness to develop exchanges with similar organizations in other countries, and to fight to increase the skills of farmers and improve education in the countryside, the Poznan farmers' union program stated it would "fight for a just relationship between agricultural prices and the prices of the means of [agricultural] production." It also announced that a trade union institute would be established in Poznan to oversee the application of that demand.

Finally, and this is still quite rare in Poland, the group stressed that the "union will take up the defense of the rights of farming women."

But this does not seem to frighten them. Responding to questions from several journalists about what they planned to do if the repressive measures were stepped up, they stated very simply "we will fight."

Other reporters were nervous that the spirit of the farmers did not seem to reflect what the regime was prepared to grant. The little priest from Zbrosza Duza, who was one of the organizers of the press conference, answered them in this way: "When Lenin began the revolution, he did not ask permission. He charged ahead!"

...Grenada

Continued from preceding page

the national liberation movements, the progressive countries in the third world . . . to try to attack the freedom fighters against apartheid in Namibia and South Africa as being internationalist terrorists."

Grenada rejects this imperialist definition of terrorism.

Bishop explained, "What they are doing . . . is that they are trying to get away by blaming countries like Cuba, like Nicaragua, like Namibia, like Zimbabwe, like Grenada, to blame our countries for their economic difficulties."

This is also the significance of the U.S. concept of "linkage," Bishop explained. If the people in one part of the world fight back, imperialism says it has the right to intervene against

Reagan to allies: no Grenada aid

As Grenada was celebrating the second anniversary of its revolution, the Reagan administration in Washington marked the date in its own way by urging its allies to impose an economic blockade against the island.

According to a report by Karen DeYoung in the March 20 *Washington Post*, "In an action that has irritated some of the 10 member countries of the Common Market, a U.S. official was sent to the organization's headquarters in Brussels last week to try to head off possible community assistance to Grenada, a small Caribbean island whose government has close ties to Cuba."

Because the United States has few direct trade ties with Grenada, its only way of applying economic pressure against the revolutionary government is by convincing its

imperialist allies to put on the squeeze.

The Reagan administration claims that it is particularly concerned about the construction of a new international airport in Grenada, with Cuban assistance. The U.S. official who travelled to Brussels was quoted as saying that Common Market assistance for the airport would aid Cuba's "expansionist" aims in the Caribbean. What Washington is really concerned about is that the airport will allow Grenada to strengthen its economy, particularly its tourist industry, and increase its independence from the imperialist countries.

The Common Market has so far not formally responded to the U.S. requests to halt aid to Grenada. Some governments have indicated their reluctance to go along with Washington's interventionist policy in the Caribbean.

WHAT WE BELIEVE

Farrell Dobbs's testimony at trial of Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against U.S. government police operations

On the following pages is a slightly edited version of the entire direct examination of Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, on April 2, 1981, at the trial of the U.S. government. In a future issue we will run selections from the cross examination.

Conducting the direct examination was Margaret Winter, chief counsel for the socialists. Edward Williams, an assistant U.S. attorney, heads the government defense at the trial.

The testimony is taken from the official court transcript.

Judge Thomas Griesa: First witness.

Margaret Winter: Mr. Farrell Dobbs. [Witness is sworn in.]

DIRECT EXAMINATION (By Margaret Winter)

Q: Where do you live, Mr. Dobbs?

A: I live in Berkeley, California.

Q: How old are you?

A: 73.

Q: Are you a member of the Socialist Workers Party?

A: Yes.

Q: Have you ever run for public office?

A: Yes.

Q: Would you please state in chronological order the offices you have run for with the dates?

A: I was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York City in 1945. I was the party's candidate for Governor of New York State in 1947.

I was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the United States four times: in 1948, 1952, 1956 and 1960.

Q: Have you ever held any national posts in the Socialist Workers Party?

A: Yes.

Q: Would you please list them chronologically?

A: From 1940 to the fall of 1943 I was the party's National Labor Secretary. From very early 1949 to around mid-1953, I was National Chairman of the party. From 1953 until 1972, I was the National Secretary of the party.

Q: Would you please describe what your function as National Labor Secretary of the party was?

A: I had just come to the party center here in New York to spend my full time in party activities there after several years in the trade unions. I had some reasonable degree of trade union experience. It was a time when there were quite intensive labor struggles going on in industry. The party was doing everything it could to help the workers in those struggles, and it was my function in that post to help and to give coordinating guidelines to the party members in that effort.

Q: Can you describe what your function as National Chairman of the SWP was?

A: I was a public spokesperson for the party.

Q: What was your function as National Secretary of the party?

A: The National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, traditionally

from its foundation, has been that of the chief executive officer. In that capacity I was responsible for the administration of party affairs in general.

Q: Who was the National Secretary of the SWP before you?

A: James P. Cannon.

Q: During what dates was Cannon National Secretary of the SWP?

A: From the founding of the party at the beginning of 1938 to 1953.

Q: And that is when you became National Secretary?

A: Yes.

Q: And who was your successor as National Secretary when you left that office in 1973?

A: Jack Barnes.

Q: Is Mr. Barnes the current National Secretary?

A: Yes, he is.

Q: Is Mr. Cannon still living?

A: No. He died in the latter part of 1974.

Q: Have you ever said the SWP had any publications?

A: Yes.

Q: What publications have you edited?

A: I was the editor of The Militant—from the fall of 1943 until about the end of 1948.

Q: Could you please tell us what The Militant is?

A: The Militant is a newspaper that was launched in 1928 by James P. Cannon and others who were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States at that time.

Judge Griesa: When did it start?

Dobbs: 1928, your Honor.

Winter: Is that newspaper still in existence? Is it still being published?

A: Yes, it is.

Q: Are you currently involved in any organizational activity in the SWP?

A: No, I'm not. I have been retired from all organizational activity for several years.

Q: Do you have any current assignment at all in the Socialist Workers Party?

A: Yes.

Q: Could you please describe what that assignment is?

A: The assignment the party has asked me to assume, and I have, is to write material that will hopefully be of educational value to the party membership.

Q: What books, if any, have you had published?

A: So far, a series of four books on the history of the Teamsters movement in Minnesota and the Midwest during the 1930s and early 1940s. I'm now working on a series about the history of Marxism in the United States. The first volume of that has just been published. It covers the period from 1848 to 1917.

Founding of SWP

Q: Mr. Dobbs, when did you become a member of the Socialist Workers Party?

A: At its founding, at the beginning of 1938.

Q: Have you ever been a member of any socialist organizations be-

sides the SWP?

A: Yes.

Q: What organizations, socialist organizations, have you been a member of?

A: I joined the Communist League of America in March of 1934. I remained a member of that organization until right at the end of 1934; it fused with an organization known as the American Workers Party, and the fused forces formed what was called the Workers Party of the United States.

I was a member of the Workers Party of the United States until it was dissolved in 1936. The dissolution came about because the Workers Party decided to enter the Socialist Party of the United States and secured the agreement of the Socialist Party to do so.

I became a member of the Socialist Party in those circumstances and part of the left wing of that party. I remained in the Socialist Party until about the end of 1937, when the left wing was expelled and the Socialist Workers Party was founded.

Q: Could you very briefly describe what the Communist League of America was?

A: The Communist League of America was organized by James P. Cannon and others who were expelled from the Communist Party in 1928. Its organizers were members of the Communist Party who had supported the views presented by Leon Trotsky in the controversy in the Soviet Union and the Third International between Joseph Stalin and Trotsky over basic questions of policy.

Those who were expelled agreed with Trotsky's views—that the Stalin regime in Russia and the political aides of Stalin in the Communist Parties throughout the world were derailing the Communist movement from a Marxist course. When they announced their agreement with Trotsky, they were expelled from the party.

The aim of the Communist League in the initial stages of its development in those circumstances was to try to convince the Communist Party that it should correct itself and return to a Marxist course.

Judge Griesa: Did you say they supported the views of Trotsky over Lenin?

Dobbs: Over Stalin.

Griesa: You didn't mention Lenin?

A: No.

Griesa: I was taking notes and didn't hear.

What was the difference that they perceived between the teachings of Trotsky and the policies of Stalin?

A: Basically, the differences can be summed up briefly as follows, in my judgment:

Stalin had advanced the theory of socialism in one country; that is, that the Soviet Union would concentrate on trying to continue with the building of a socialist society in Russia and that the struggles to establish socialism in other countries would be subordinated to that.

Trotsky took the view that socialism could not be defended in the Soviet Union. The socialist property forms, or the progressive property forms, that

were created after the Russian Revolution that laid the foundations for building toward a socialist society could not be defended in one country alone.

Ultimately, either the change would have to be worldwide, or the capitalist forces elsewhere in the world would be able to crush the Soviet Union and restore the capitalist property forms that had been abolished.

The founders of the Communist League of America agreed with that view as presented by Trotsky.

Winter: Why did you join the Communist League, Mr. Dobbs?

A: I was working in a coal yard in Minneapolis. Perhaps I should explain:

In 1934, and in the wintertime, Minneapolis is a quite frigid area. The principal means of heat for homes and commercial establishments at that time was coal. There was an industry called the fuel distributing industry that received coal in box cars and gondola cars, and it was delivered to the customers. I worked in that industry.

Those of us employed in the industry had organized ourselves into a union and we were fighting to establish recognition of the union by the employers—to compel the employers to negotiate with us and to sign with the union a contract that would improve our wages and conditions at work.

We were compelled to go on strike before we were able to get any significant response from the employers. I noticed in the course of that strike that there were certain individuals that were outstanding in their capacity to understand what the fight was all about, and how to help the workers in the fight.

Upon inquiry, I found out they were members of the Communist League of America. I was young, green politically, but I felt if within the Communist League of America they learned to do things like that, that is what I wanted to be, so I joined.

Q: Did the Communist League participate in any international political organization at the time you joined?

A: Yes, the Communist League was a participant in what was called, if memory serves me right, the International Left Opposition.

Q: Can you describe briefly what the International Left Opposition was?

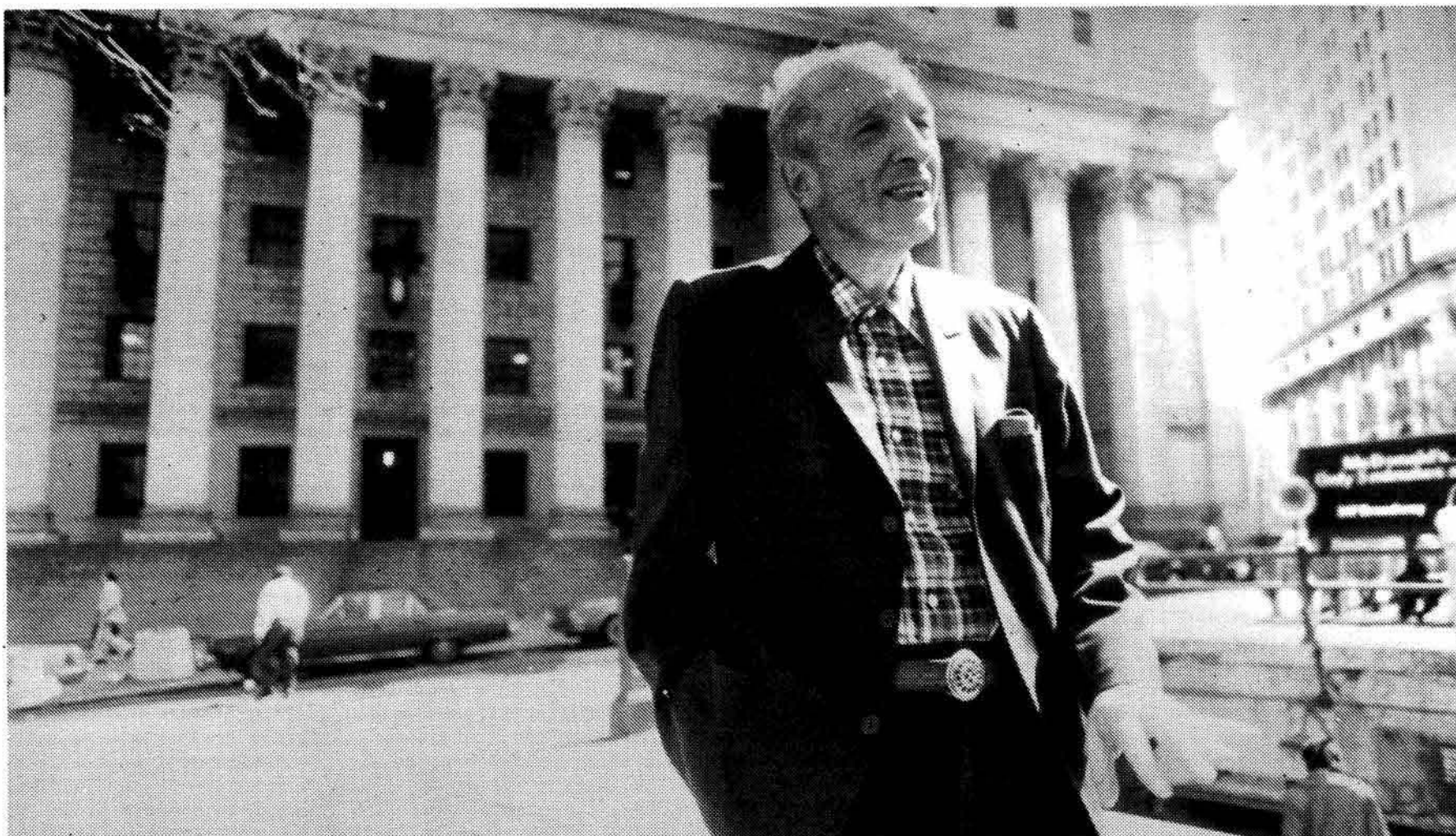
A: The Left Opposition was a formation that performed the function of coordinating the efforts of Trotskyists in various countries.

I should perhaps say, I now use the term "Trotskyists" as an abbreviation for the definition of the political tendency in light of the description I gave earlier of the differences between Trotsky and Stalin. [The Left Opposition was formed] to facilitate the collective thinking of the Trotskyists in all countries in promoting the objectives that I described of trying to bring the Communist movement of the world back to a Marxist axis.

Q: Did the program and policies of the Socialist Workers Party when it was founded differ from those of the predecessors you described?

A: Not in the most fundamental

Continued on next page



Dobbs outside federal courthouse

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Continued from preceding page

objective, and that is to build a revolutionary party in this country on the basis of a Marxist program.

Q: When the SWP was founded in 1938, did it have a relationship to any international political organization?

A: At the time of the founding of the Socialist Workers Party at the beginning of 1938, it proceeded as a participant in what had started as the International Left Opposition back in 1928, and had evolved by this time into a committee—into a formation for the Fourth International.

During 1938, some months after the Socialist Workers Party was founded, the Fourth International was founded. The Socialist Workers Party became one of the founding sections of the organization.

Judge Griesa: The Fourth International is in contrast to the Third International?

Dobbs: Yes, that is correct.

Griesa: What is the Third International?

A: The Third International was launched in 1919, after the Russian Revolution.

Would it help you, sir, if I sort of gave you a little sketch?

Griesa: I just want to know, the Third International, did that become Stalinist?

A: It did.

Griesa: That is why there was a Fourth International, to follow the teachings of Trotsky. Is that right?

A: Yes. . . .

Winter: Is the SWP based on any particular political doctrines?

Dobbs: Yes, yes. We are based on the fundamental doctrines of Marxism—referred to as scientific socialism.

Q: Can you briefly describe what those doctrines are?

A: That is a large question but I'll try very hard to do it very briefly. Just the bare bones fundamentals is what I'll try very briefly to outline.

Marxist theory

The Marxist outlook is based on recognition of the fact that throughout class society, from the days of slavery in olden times through the stage of feudal society to the contemporary capitalist system, that the motive force of history has been a struggle between the exploiting classes on one side and the exploited classes on the other—between the oppressors on one side and the oppressed on the other.

In capitalist society, this struggle in the scientific socialistic view has its roots in the capitalist system of property relations. Capitalists hold the

social means of production as private property that they seek to use to advance their own private interests at the expense of the general social welfare.

Commodities produced under the capitalist system are produced through the employment of wage labor by the capitalists. The value of the commodities produced represents the socially necessary labor that is congealed in the produced commodity.

A contest arises over the division between the capitalists on the one side and the workers on the other over this value. The capitalists—I am not speaking of individuals, but in general terms as a class—try to hold down the workers' share of the value produced to only that which is necessary for the subsistence of the working class and for its procreation. To the extent the capitalist succeeds he is able to appropriate more of the value for the amassing of capital through which he can expand his holdings and then amass more capital. It becomes an endless spiral.

The working class, on the other hand, is not content merely to subsist and to procreate. The working class aspires to advance toward an ever-improved state of life. This gives rise to an unending clash between the capitalist and the working class in contemporary society in this country. I'll just say in passing you have an example in the fact that the coal miners are on strike today.

The Marxist view is that the contradictions that lead to this condition are inherent in the capitalist form of property relations. The needs and the interests of the working class cannot therefore be solved under the capitalist system. It is necessary to abolish private property in the social means of production.

That doesn't mean somebody has two shirts, you take the second one. I am talking about the social means of production—its mines, mills, factories, railroads and so on—to have them owned and operated by the people as a collectivity. Perhaps I could sum it up by quoting as best I can from memory a passage at the conclusion of the Communist Manifesto in which it speaks of a social structure developing that is an association of producers in which the well-being of each is the condition for the well-being of all.

Q: What does the SWP mean when it uses the word "revolution"?

A: We use the term "revolution" in the sense that—

Edward G. Williams: Objection, your Honor. I would ask that the witness respond to the question of what he means, rather than the SWP.

Judge Griesa: That was the question.

Williams: The question, your Honor, was what does the SWP mean.

Griesa: Well, the objection is overruled.

Dobbs: In speaking of revolution, the term is used in the context that it is used generally in political science, whether it is socialist political science or capitalist political science. A revolution in political terminology relates only to a fundamental transformation in basic processes.

For example, within the historic era of capitalism, a tremendous leap took place in the forms of production through what was called the Industrial Revolution that began in England back in the 18th Century. Basically, machine production was introduced after the invention of the engine, and it permitted an increasingly accelerating transformation from production by hand and with manual tools and so on to the machine form of production. That opened up whole new vistas for both qualitative and quantitative advancement in industrial output. That is why it was called a revolution.

When we speak of a revolution in the political sense, that is what we mean. A qualitative transformation from one basic form of social structure, capitalism, to a different basic form of social structure that we call socialism.

Terrorism

Winter: Does the SWP have any view on whether that revolution you have just referred to can be brought about by terrorism?

Dobbs: Yes.

Q: And what is that view?

A: It is the view of the Socialist Workers Party that terrorism is the antithesis of what is required to bring about a fundamental social transformation.

Terrorism implies that self-appointed individuals can substitute themselves for the great mass of the people—and by acts of terror bring about a change while the mass stands around as onlookers, as though they were merely interested onlookers—watching something like a Super Bowl game. A concept of that nature is directly contradictory to what is needed—that is the cumulative process of the education and organization of the working class as a class, to act as a class in its own behalf. That is the only way that a social transformation can be brought about.

In addition to that, acts of terrorism serve as a pretext for the ruling class to impose restrictions on the democratic rights of the working people in

building their own organizations and in carrying out their policies.

Q: Has the Socialist Workers Party's view on this matter ever differed from what you have just described?

A: No.

Q: Does the SWP have any view on whether the revolution that you talked about a few minutes ago must be accompanied by violence?

A: Yes.

Q: What is this view?

A: Our view is this: It would be best and we would welcome the carrying through of the fundamental changes in a peaceful and orderly manner in keeping with the operation of the democratic principle of majority rule.

We take into account, however, in speaking on this subject, that historically there has been a tendency on the part of privileged ruling classes—from slave society through feudal society to contemporary times—for the privileged class that has private ownership of the means of production to resist by force and violence the attempt of a majority of the population to bring about a social change in which their special privileges would be stripped from them.

And therefore, it follows, as we see it, that while first a majority must be convinced that there is a need to bring about a fundamental social change, there is always the possibility that the majority will then have to defend its decision against—

Judge Griesa: The majority must defend its decision, you say?

Dobbs: That the majority may have to defend and uphold its decision against an attempt by a privileged ruling class minority to subvert the majority will through force and violence.

To give an example of what I mean, the first one that comes to mind is the case of Spain in the mid-1930s. The constitutionally elected government had been elected on a platform that contemplated quite a number of social reforms. A fascist movement representing the vested interests in Spain that were led by Franco launched a civil war against the constitutionally elected government, overthrew that government, and subverted the will of the majority.

It is in the vein that I speak.

Winter: To your knowledge, has the SWP ever privately adhered to views on the subject of terrorism other than what you have been testifying to?

Dobbs: No, no, not at all.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, are there any par-

ticular political writings that the SWP gives special weight to?

A: Yes.

Q: And what writings are those?

A: Central to that would be the writings of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Leon Trotsky.

Q: Are the writings of Marx, Engels, Trotsky, or Lenin binding on the SWP?

A: Not at all.

Q: Are any other writings binding on the SWP?

A: Nothing is binding upon the SWP except the resolutions and decisions that are adopted by the Socialist Workers Party itself.

Q: Can you explain or describe the processes by which resolutions and other decisions are arrived at by the SWP?

A: I will try very briefly to give the essence of the central process.

Organization of SWP

The highest authority in the Socialist Workers Party is its national convention. National conventions are prepared and carried out with respect to policy-making matters as follows:

A pre-convention discussion period is set, which is usually at least three months, sometimes a little longer, depending on the circumstances. At the outset of the discussion period, resolutions are prepared setting forth the general line on policy questions that are to be decided by the convention. Some of these resolutions will be presented by the leadership of the party. There may be other resolutions by someone within the party other than the leadership.

During the discussion period, all members of the party are free to fully speak their minds on whatever question they choose. The discussion will tend to center on any debates that may arise over conflicting views on one or another policy question.

On the eve of the convention, the branches of the party hold meetings at which they elect delegates to the convention. If there have been majority and minority views developed over any question, care will be taken to see that the minority view has proportional representation in the convention delegation commensurate with its strength in the branch membership.

When the delegates arrive at the convention, reports are given on the resolutions presented to the body for consideration. Further oral discussion then takes place at the convention itself by the assembled delegates. At the end of the discussion a vote is taken. The decision that is made by a majority of the convention delegates is the decision that becomes binding upon the entire party.

I might add that this procedure is set forth in the party's constitution and in a resolution adopted by the party on its organizational character. . . .

Q: Mr. Dobbs, do the rules governing the Socialist Workers Party require the members to accept the ideas embodied in the convention's decisions?

A: No, they are not required to accept the ideas. The members are required to abide by the decisions. But the party does not demand that anyone change their mind about their own thinking.

As a matter of fact, I submit, you could never build a revolutionary party except with people who are capable of thinking for themselves. All that is involved is a requirement that everybody, no matter what they think, abide by that decision.

Q: Does political discussion go on in the SWP at any time other than the pre-convention discussion period you described?

A: Yes, it does.

Q: When does it occur?

A: Written discussions are sometimes conducted in the party's discussion bulletin between conventions, not in preparation of the convention, organized by the national committee.

There will be discussions also in the party branches and in other party gatherings about contemporary devel-

opments. You might say there is a sort of a continuous thinking-out-loud process, as people try to keep abreast in their consciousness of ongoing events.

There is a lively internal political life in the party—and intellectual and ideological life.

Q: Have there ever been groups of individuals within the SWP that disagreed with the decisions of the SWP Convention or National Committee?

A: Yes, there have.

Q: Have minority views in the Party ever taken organizational form?

A: Yes. They take two forms that are basic in character. One is a form that is referred to as a political tendency. Its character is that of a group of individuals who tend to think alike on a given question in a direction that is different from the views held by a majority of the party. Sometimes it may just be a loose, informal current of thought among a few individuals. It may evolve into an organized tendency that is formed for the purpose of cooperation among the individuals who think alike in presenting their views to the party. That is the tendency form of organization.

The faction form of organization is a different character—not in the sense that it disagrees with the majority policy as does a tendency—but in the sense, as a rule, a faction's differences are of such scope that a faction tends to feel that it is necessary to replace the party leadership in order to carry out the line it thinks the party should follow.

In that sense, a faction is different from a tendency in that it implies a question of reorganizing the leadership structure of the party—as well as arguing to change one or another policy or set of policies of the party.

Q: You have described a decision-making process in the SWP. Do you know of any exceptions to the decision-making process that you have described?

A: No, no, that is the process that is followed by the party.

Q: Under the rules of the organization, what rights does a minority tendency have to attempt to

affect party policy along the minority views that it has after a national convention has reached a decision?

A: The minority has no right whatever to try to apply its policies after a decision has been made by the convention. It is required to abide by the majority decision in keeping with the democratic principle of majority rule.

The minority does not have to abandon its ideas; it has merely to be patient enough to wait until arrangements are made at a subsequent time for a renewal of internal political discussion in the party, at which time it may again raise its views.

* * *

Q: Did there ever come a time after you became a member of the SWP that you had any contact with the FBI?

A: Yes.

FBI attacks on Teamsters

Q: About what time period was that?

A: In the 1938-1939 period.

Q: Where were you living?

A: Minneapolis, Minnesota in 1938 and until the spring of 1939 when I moved to Omaha, Nebraska.

Q: What was your employment?

A: In 1938 and in the first part of 1939, I was the secretary-treasurer of General Drivers Local 544 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

In the spring of 1939, I was appointed by Daniel Tobin, the general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, to his staff of general organizers. After being appointed to that post at his request, I moved to Omaha, Nebraska.

Q: What were your responsibilities in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at that time?

A: My main responsibility was that of central leader in the organization of over-the-road truck drivers in the upper Mississippi Valley in the midwest.

Q: What were "over-the-road drivers"?

A: Over-the-road drivers are truck drivers who operate the trucks that transport cargo on the highways be-

tween cities, within state and between cities and separate states.

Q: What was the scope of this organizing campaign that you were heading up?

A: It embraced an area of 11 states. In the 1938-39 period we brought around a quarter of a million new members into the Teamsters Union through this campaign.

Q: Do you know whether your membership in the SWP was publicly known at this time?

A: Yes, it was known by everyone from general president Tobin on down, as was the role of SWP members in helping to build the Teamsters Union since 1934.

Q: There were other members besides yourself in the Teamsters?

A: Yes.

Q: Did there come a time when SWP Teamsters had any encounters with the FBI?

A: Yes, there did.

Q: Will you briefly describe the nature of that encounter.

A: In the latter part of 1940 the FBI began to use informers to stir up an opposition in the union, against the elected leadership of the union.

Q: Did that leadership include members of the SWP?

A: It did.

Q: How did you know that the FBI used informers?

A: We became aware of this in testimony that was presented at a trial that took place in the fall of 1941.

Q: Do you have any idea of how these informers were used against you?

A: Yes. As it came out in the trial, the informers and one or two FBI agents met with opposition groups in the union and sought to stir up the development of a slander campaign against the elected leadership of the union.

Q: What do you mean by slander?

A: They tried to depict us as revolutionary conspirators who were working against the good and the welfare of the union membership.

Q: Is there anything else, any other contact of SWP leaders and

Continued on next page



Direct examination of Farrell Dobbs by SWP attorney Margaret Winter. At table in foreground are government attorneys.

Continued from preceding page

members of the Teamsters with the FBI?

A: Yes. It stemmed from a development that took place in the early summer of 1941. I think it was June.

Q: What was this incident?

A: The FBI conducted raids on the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in the city of Minneapolis and in the city of St. Paul.

Q: How did you find out about this?

A: I was in Minneapolis at the time and, of course, being a member of the party I learned about this very quickly. Everybody in town very quickly knew this because they brought newspaper reporters with them. The next issue of the paper after the raid had big scare headlines about the raid with an inflection that tended to throw onus on the SWP members who were leaders in the Teamsters Union.

Q: Can you briefly describe what the FBI did during the raid?

A: They seized literature that was on display for public sale in our Minneapolis headquarters. They also took a red flag that was standing against the wall and took a picture of Leon Trotsky that was hanging on the wall.

Q: What kind of literature was seized?

A: Everything from a few copies of the Communist Manifesto that was written in 1848 on display for sale, to the latest literature of the Socialist Workers Party.

Q: Did this raid result in any legal proceedings against you?

A: Yes, it did.

Q: What was that?

A: I was indicted by a federal grand jury the following month.

Q: Do you know if anyone was indicted with you?

A: Yes, a total of 29 were indicted. I could perhaps best describe it by saying it included the whole top leadership of the Teamsters Union, Local 544, and the top leaders of the Socialist Workers Party.

Q: And that included yourself?

A: Yes.

Q: Do you recall generally what the indictment charged you with?

A: Yes.

Q: Could you briefly describe the nature of the charges?

Smith Act trial

A: We were charged under two separate statutes. As I understand it, one statute had been put on the books during the Civil War. It was aimed at the slave owners who were then in rebellion against the Union. Under that statute we were indicted on charges of conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence at the very first opportunity we had.

We were also charged with fomenting insubordination in the armed forces.

The second statute was the Smith Act. Under that, we were charged with advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

Q: To your knowledge, had the SWP ever incited or encouraged or conspired to encourage insubordination in the armed forces?

A: No, we never did.

Q: In the time period we are talking about, had the SWP made any public policy statements relating to the impending war?

A: Yes. Both the SWP and the leadership of Local 544 had spoken out on the war question. Our position was this: that the war that was going on was a war between imperialist ruling classes, dominating capitalistic countries; and that the purpose of the war was a fight for the redivision of spheres of influence in the world for the purposes of finding markets for products, sources of raw materials, areas for capital investment; and that this war was not in the interest of the working class of the United States; and that we politically opposed the war for those reasons.

Q: Did any of the 29 SWP and Teamster leaders who were indicted go to trial?

A: One of those indicted committed suicide after the indictments were handed down and before the trial began. The remaining 28 did go to trial.

Q: Were any of the 28 convicted on any of the charges?

A: Yes, 18 were convicted. 10 were found not guilty on all counts. 18 were convicted on one count.

Q: What count were they found guilty on?

A: The Smith Act count only.

All the 28 were found not guilty on the count of conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence at our first opportunity and the count of fomenting insubordination in the armed forces. The 18 were convicted only on the charge of advocacy of the overthrow of the government by force and violence under the Smith Act.

Q: Were you among the 18?

A: I was.

Act convictions?

A: No.

Q: After the convictions, did you or the SWP modify in public any of the positions that you had previously been stating?

A: No, none of the basic positions.

Q: Are the views you advocate today the same views you were convicted of advocating in 1941?

A: Yes, they are.

Q: Have you ever been indicted again?

A: No.

Q: Have you ever been arrested since 1941?

A: No.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, to your knowledge, has the SWP's relationship to the Fourth International changed since the SWP was founded in 1938?

A: It has not changed in a political

Dobbs as SWP candidate for U.S. president, 1948. 'As a presidential candidate, for example, I found in touring the country and holding press conferences that somebody would make it a point to ask if we were on a subversive list. It was bound to turn up in whatever was written about us in the paper. . . . It was in that sense injurious to our prospects of reaching people and talking to them in an open-minded way.'



Q: Did any of the 18 go to jail?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you go to jail?

A: I was one of them.

Q: How long a term did you serve?

A: I served a 16-month term less time off for good behavior.

Q: To your knowledge, did the SWP change any of its views as a result of the Smith Act conviction?

A: No.

Q: Did the SWP change any of its activities as a result of the Smith

sense, but there was a change in an organizational aspect.

Q: When did the organizational change that you referred to occur?

A: In December of 1940.

Q: Can you describe this organizational change?

A: Yes. The Socialist Workers Party disaffiliated organizationally from the Fourth International and thereafter did not pay dues to the Fourth International, and did not cast decisive votes on any political views of the Fourth International.

Judge Griesa: When was that changed?

Dobbs: December of 1940.

Griesa: The indictment was the summer of 1941, is that correct?

A: That is correct.

Griesa: You disaffiliated from the Fourth International, did not pay dues; is that right?

A: That is right. And did not cast a decisive vote in any political deliberations of the Fourth International.

Winter: Mr. Dobbs, was the decision to disaffiliate made in any formal gathering of the party?

Dobbs: Yes. A special convention of the party was held in December of 1940, at which the disaffiliation was decided upon.

Q: Were you present?

A: I was.

Q: What reasons, if any, were discussed at the convention for disaffiliating?

Voorhis Act

A: The circumstances thrust upon us by the Voorhis law, which was enacted a short time before the convention was held.

Q: Can you explain why the SWP viewed the passage of the Voorhis Act as a reason for seeking not to pay dues and for not casting votes in the Fourth International?

A: The Voorhis Act, as I recall, did not in itself forbid international affiliation. But it did require [any group] affiliated with an international organization to register all of its members and their addresses with the Department of Justice.

By that time we were already having such experience with harassment from the FBI that we felt that it would merely make it all the harder for the party members if we made such a registration. So we decided instead to disaffiliate organizationally from the Fourth International so that we would not have to register.

Q: Did the SWP make public the fact that it had disaffiliated?

A: Yes, we did. We made that fact public and stated that we were disaffiliating because of the circumstances imposed upon us by the Voorhis Act. And we denounced the Voorhis Act as an undemocratic, unconstitutional law in our opinion.

Q: Was there any other reason, other than the Voorhis Act, that was given for disaffiliation?

A: That was the only reason.

Q: To your knowledge, did the SWP lessen its political work with the Fourth International after disaffiliation?

A: No.

Q: After the SWP disaffiliated, SWP members continued to participate in activities or meetings of the Fourth International?

A: Not all SWP members. From time to time one or the other person of the SWP would sit in at political deliberation held by the Fourth International.

In doing so, expressing the party's view about whatever political question was under discussion, we sought also to keep the entire membership of the party fully informed about the political life of the Fourth International—the issues under consideration, the views expressed, the differences of opinion that arose, and so on.

Q: Can you explain a little bit more fully the nature of the SWP's participation and activities of the Fourth International?

A: In terms of political activity, the SWP always expressed its views. It did not hesitate to take initiative, even in consultations with the cadres of the Fourth International, in expressing its views and taking initiatives and raising a new question that had to be discussed or to advance a position about a given question under discussion.

We tried to be a continuing part of political deliberations within the international Trotskyist movement.

Q: Was this participation in the Fourth International any different in substance before disaffiliating and after?

A: No, it was not.

Q: To your knowledge, Mr. Dobbs, has the SWP ever attempted in any way to mask its relations with the Fourth International?

A: Not at all. We have been very public about all of this.

Q: Would it be fair to say that the SWP disaffiliated for no other reason other than to avoid registering under the Voorhis Act?

A: That is correct.

Q: Has the SWP ever been indicted for not registering under the Voorhis Act?

A: No.

Q: Are you aware of any efforts by the SWP to give an impression that it was disaffiliating from the Fourth International for some reason other than what you have described?

A: No.

More visits from FBI

Q: Have you ever been present at an interview by the FBI?

A: Yes, I have.

Q: Do you recall ever being present at an FBI interview on the subject of a railroad train?

A: I do.

Q: Was there any other SWP member present at that FBI interview?

A: Yes, James P. Cannon.

Q: Is James P. Cannon the first National Secretary of the SWP you referred to earlier?

A: That is correct, and he was the National Secretary of the party at the time.

Q: Could you briefly describe the circumstances of the interview?

A: Two FBI agents came to the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party here in New York one day in the fall of 1942 and asked to talk to Mr. Cannon, who was the National Secretary. This was only about a year after we had been indicted, tried, and convicted on the Smith Act. Our case was then on appeal.

Our involvement with the FBI was such that we thought it unwise for Mr. Cannon to talk to the two FBI agents alone. So I sat in on those discussions.

They told us about a year earlier that a train had been wrecked in Pennsylvania and that there had been a Soviet diplomat riding on a train that followed. They suspected the possibility that there was sabotage involved—that the intent had been to wreck the train carrying the Soviet diplomat and that through some mixup, they had gotten the wrong train.

They were exploring all possible suspects. Since we were opponents of the Stalin regime in Russia, we automatically became suspect.

We told them in substance, we denied that we carry out sabotage or any other forms of terrorist acts of that kind. They told us then that they wanted a list of the membership of the party so that they could interrogate other party members.

We told them we would not give them a list of the party members for them to harass. One of them said, "If you don't, we can make you trouble."

We told him, "We are aware of that, in light of what happened last year. But we are not going to give you the list. So you will have to go ahead and make your trouble."

Q: Was Cannon ever indicted in connection with this incident?

A: No, he was not.

Q: Were you?

A: No.

Q: Was any other SWP member?

A: No.

Q: Were you or Cannon or any other SWP member ever interviewed again in connection with this incident, to your knowledge?

A: No.

Q: Or ever called before a grand jury to testify in connection with this incident?

A: No.

Q: Was the interview you have described ever made public?

A: Yes, it was.

Q: How was it made public?

A: Mr. Cannon addressed an open

letter to the Attorney General protesting this whole procedure. That letter was published in *The Militant*.

Q: Do you know why Cannon chose to make this incident public?

A: We were apprehensive that we were in for another frame-up. Last time it had been conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. We were apprehensive that the grounds being laid now were to frame us as terrorists. That is why we were quick to protest.

Q: Did you testify that this letter was published?

A: It was published in *The Militant*, yes.

Q: Did anything unusual occur in connection with the issue of *The Militant* in which this open letter was published?

A: Yes. When that issue of *The Militant* was delivered to the post office for distribution, it was confiscated.

Q: How do you know this?

A: We began to get complaints from the subscribers of the paper that the issue had not been received. We se-

leader who had not yet had an opportunity to obtain an extensive political education to talk with Trotsky. I leaped at the opportunity.

In the visit in 1940 we had general conversations. They were of an educational character. Perhaps I can give on a thumbnail the essence of what the conversations were by pointing out that he talked with me about the manner in which Stalin had steered the Communist International away from the policies of Marx and Lenin and why it was necessary for the movements that agreed with him to fight to restore those policies in the working class movement. And in that connection, he sought to give me a deeper understanding of the fundamental motion of social forces in history.

He was very perspicacious about what I needed. He taught me something that I generalized later in my own mind as a recognition that it is necessary when one is thinking politically in social terms, not to be provincial in contemporary times but to be a citizen of the world. . . .

There had been a long campaign against Trotsky by Stalin that, by this time, had developed to the point where Stalin was trying to carry through the assassination of Trotsky.

In May of 1940, a body of Stalinist agents conducted an armed raid on Trotsky's residence in Coyoacan with the intent of murdering him. One of Trotsky's guards was kidnapped in the raid. His body was later found in a shallow grave in another part of the area.

They broke in the door to the bedroom where Trotsky and his wife, Natalia, were sleeping and blasted his bed with machine-gun fire. But Natalia had been quick-minded enough to grab Trotsky and roll him over on the floor on the other side of the bed, and they missed him. Just by a miracle he did not get hit.

Immediately after this happened, Mr. Cannon, Mr. Joseph Hansen and myself went to Mexico City as representatives of our party to see what could be done to strengthen Trotsky's defenses. With the collaboration of engineers in the Mexican army, who



Farrell Dobbs testifying, Judge Griesa at bench

cured an attorney. He checked back and the postal authorities admitted, yes, that had happened.

Q: Do you know whether the SWP had been granted a hearing before the issue was seized?

A: We were not.

Q: Do you know if any other issues of *The Militant* had ever been seized by the postmaster?

A: They were selective, as I recall. They would let some issues go through the mail. They were censoring every issue of the paper. Some were confiscated, and some were not. That is my best recollection of it.

Meeting with Trotsky

Q: Mr. Dobbs, did you ever meet with Leon Trotsky?

A: Yes, I have.

Q: When was that?

A: Twice in the year 1940.

Q: Where were you when you met with Trotsky?

A: I visited him in Mexico City where he was residing. It was a suburb of Mexico City called Coyoacan.

Q: What were the purposes of your visits with Trotsky?

A: The purposes were different.

The first visit took place in the very early winter of 1940. I was just leaving the Teamsters Union. I had resigned from my post as general organizer for the international union at the end of 1939 and was going to go to New York to assume the post of National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The party thought it would be useful for me as a young trade union

He talked about the progressive main stages of the evolution of social organization in history—the slave stage, the feudal stage, the capitalistic stage, and so on—and how each of these had at their inception had progressive features. They served within certain limits to advance humanity's striving to improve its technology so that humanity can derive a better living out of the natural resources of the earth. But as progress was made, each successive system had come to serve as a barrier to further advance.

In the conversation I said to him that I can understand that except for one thing. I can't conceive how there could be anything progressive about the slavery system.

He called to my attention that prior to the advent of the slave system, which essentially marked a leap in the development of agricultural production, that it had been the habit of warring tribes to eat their captives. And he said, "It is, after all, infinitely more progressive to be a slave in the field than it is to be a roast on the dinner table."

I began to see then what he meant about the importance of understanding what conditions were like at each stage and to understand and perceive what humanity was striving for at each stage in this long evolution across the pages of history.

Q: Did your second visit with Trotsky have a purpose any different?

A: The purpose of the second visit to Trotsky was to try to see to his defense.

were provided to us by President Cardenas, we improved the fortification around the hacienda. We revised the whole alarm system—did everything that could be done in order to try to strengthen the defense.

It didn't work because, as is commonly known, an agent was used to slip in and assassinate Trotsky later. But this was the central purpose of that visit.

While we were there, we of course had some political discussions with Mr. Trotsky. But this was the central purpose of the second visit.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, did you make any attempts to keep either of your meetings with Trotsky secret?

A: No, not at all, not at all. On the contrary.

Judge Griesa: When was the assassination?

Dobbs: The assassination took place in August of 1940.

Winter: Mr. Dobbs, you have testified that you and, I believe, Joseph Hansen and James Cannon visited Trotsky. Did any other SWP members visit Trotsky?

Dobbs: Many SWP members visited Trotsky. At every opportunity one or other individual or group of individuals, if they were having a vacation or something, would use it to drive down to Mexico City and talk with Trotsky and try to learn something from him as I tried to do.

Q: Did the SWP make any effort to keep these meetings secret, to your knowledge?

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A: No.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, have you ever counseled SWP members to deny being members of a subversive organization?

Subversive organization

A: Yes, I have.

Q: And why have you done that?

A: Because we are not a subversive organization.

Q: Has the SWP ever taken a position on what course should be followed by SWP members if there were a threat of war between the United States and the Soviet Union?

A: Yes. As I recall, that question became a matter of some moment in the early part of the 1950s. The Socialist Workers Party stated its view that the aim of an attack by the United States or any other imperialist power, as had been the aim of the attack made on the Soviet Union by Hitler during the Second World War, would be to abolish the progressive property relations that had been established after capitalism was abolished in Russia through the October 1917 revolution and its immediate aftermath, and to restore capitalist property relations. That would be a retrogressive step that would not be in the interests of the working class of the United States or Russia or of any other country and, therefore, we would politically oppose any such attack on the Soviet Union.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, does the SWP have any views on who will start the revolution in the United States?

A: Oh, yes. Yes, we do.

Q: Could you explain what those views are.

A: Only when a majority of the population, headed by the working class, decides that it is necessary to make a revolutionary change in the social system of this country will a struggle start to bring about such a change.

Q: Is it your testimony, then, that this revolution will not be started by a minority?

A: No. A minority cannot carry through a revolution. We firmly believe, on the basis of the whole record of history, that the only way a fundamental social change can be brought about is by the action of a majority of the population. A minority cannot bring about a fundamental social change.

Q: Has the SWP ever, to your knowledge, taken the position that the SWP will start the revolution?

A: No, we have not. We advocate the goals that we think such a revolutionary change should strive toward. We do everything we can to educate people of the need to move in that direction. But neither the Socialist Workers Party nor any other party is going to



Socialist Workers Party attorneys Margaret Winter and Herbert Jordan

start a revolution. Neither the Socialist Workers Party nor any other party is going to impose itself upon the working class as the leaders of the revolution.

Those things will be decided by the working class itself, and by nobody else.

Foreign Agents Act

Q: Do you recall any occasion when the SWP registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

A: Yes, I do.

Q: Do you recall the approximate date?

A: It would be either late 1945 or probably early 1946.

Q: Could you describe the circumstances of that registration.

A: It had to do with a problem that had arisen in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War when Germany was defeated in Europe, and Hitler's concentration camps were opened, and the survivors freed. Among them were Trotskyists in other countries in Europe who had been thrown into Hitler's concentration camps.

They were in very dire personal need. They needed food, they needed clothing, they needed medicine. Many of them were tubercular.

They had suffered all the hardships of those hellholes that they were incarcerated in. Our object was to try to do what we could to give them material aid on the basis of their personal needs.

We took two steps. The basic aim was to try to form as broad a force as possible that would collect donations of clothing, food, medicines and so on, to send over to Europe for this purpose.

And, as a parallel step, we launched a campaign to raise a fund to send over in the hope that some of the things needed could be purchased there. Some things could only be provided by sending them over because they were in such short supply generally as a result of the conditions of the war.

After we had launched this campaign, we were informed by the Department of Justice that this brought us under the requirements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Our lawyers that we secured talked with the Justice Department about it. My recollection is that they said, in effect—I won't say this is exact, but this is my recollection of what they said, in effect—that they recognized that our objective was a charitable one. But we were a political organization and, under the strict letter of the law, that required our registration.

The problem was handled by a registration of those leading people in the party who had been responsible for the fund-raising effort. We carried that out as required. . . .

Q: To your knowledge, has the SWP registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act since that time?

A: No. That was the only time, and that one fund was the only one we raised in that way.

Q: To your knowledge has the SWP ever been indicted for not registering under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

A: No, we have not.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, to your knowledge has the Socialist Workers Party ever, in any way, attempted to keep the fact or nature of its participation in the Fourth International secret?

A: No, we have not.

* * *

Q: One final question, Mr. Dobbs, on the Fourth International before we move on to the last area of the examination.

Have you yourself ever gone overseas to attend an international gathering of the Fourth International?

A: Yes, I did so in 1958.

Q: Will you please describe where the meeting was and what was discussed there.

A: It was a conference of one of the two public factions then existing in the Fourth International. The conference was held in Leeds, England, and the discussion centered around the question of whether or not possibilities

were developing for a political reunification in the International in the light of objective developments since the time of the split that had occurred back in the early 1950's. I think it was 1953.

Events—the Socialist Workers Party felt since the time of the split—had answered many of the questions in dispute and we were hopeful that those who had taken a view earlier with which we had disagreed would be ready to rethink the matter. We were trying to work toward a promotion of a political reunification from that point of view.

Q: Could you just describe briefly what the subject of the split was.

A: Yes.

Stalinism and war

The split in 1953 came about over a concept that was developed by a portion of the International, which turned out to be a majority of the International, that World War III was going to break out in the early 1950s. . . .

The notion they put forward was that, in those circumstances, the Stalin bureaucracy which had usurped in the Soviet Union would have to reform itself; that the Communist Parties throughout the world would likewise have to do so; and that in effect the Stalinist bureaucracy would reform itself and assume the revolutionary leadership of the world working-class movement in a full Marxist sense.

For that reason, the perspective had to be that the Trotskyist forces in the world would be looking toward the prospects of a reunification with the Stalinist forces. We disagreed with that. We pointed out that—

Judge Griesa: Was this part of the World War III?

Dobbs: Yes, sir.

Griesa: How does this relate to the possibility of World War III?

A: The faction in the International of the two that I mentioned that we disagreed with took the view that World War III would break out very early in the 1950's, that it actually would.

Griesa: As a result of this thing about the Stalin bureaucracy?

A: No, as a result of the sharp relations that existed at that time in the international situation generally.

Griesa: What did the Stalinist bureaucracy reforming itself have to do with that? Anything?

A: Yes, it did, in their thinking. There was a prediction on their part of what the Stalinist bureaucracy would do.

Griesa: It would do what?

A: That war would break out, that some of the imperialist countries would attack Russia and in those circumstances, a Stalinist bureaucracy would have to reverse the reform policies it had adopted in the world revolutionary socialist movement and become again revolutionary in a fully Marxist sense.

That was how the reformation of the Stalinist bureaucracy came into it.

We disagreed with it because we said that prospect was not in any sense inherent in the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Griesa: Who is "we"?

A: The Socialist Workers Party.

It was no way inherent in the Stalinist bureaucracy. To take such a course would be to derail the world socialist movement entirely from the prospects of developing a revolutionary socialist program and with the corresponding leadership.

With us, it was a very basic question because it ran absolutely counter to the whole evaluation that the Trotskyist movement—with Trotsky being one of the leading thinkers on the subject—had developed about the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The events subsequent to the split were characterized by these factors: (1) World War III did not break out as they had predicted; (2) there was no sign whatever of a reform in the dictatorial anti-Marxist character of the Stalinist bureaucracy; (3) the course of the class struggle continued in the form of conflicts between the working class and the employing class that became quite sharp in Western Europe,

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particularly with waves of strikes in France and Germany; (4) that instead of the Stalinist bureaucracy reforming itself, in the 1953 to 1956 period, struggles of the workers broke out in the eastern states of Europe, and the Stalinist regime interfered to block the efforts of those workers.

It came to a climax in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, when a decision was made to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Soviet Union sent troops into Hungary and suppressed the workers' struggle.

In light of those circumstances, we felt that those who had taken the view that we opposed in 1953 would begin to rethink the views they had taken. It was in that context that I made the visit to Europe in 1958, the objective being only to see those I could and sound them out, and see how their political thinking was developing in the light of the events across the five years since 1953.

Winter: There were discussions at that meeting?

A: Yes, there were.

Attorney General's list

Q: Turning now, Mr. Dobbs, to the final area of this examination, have you ever heard of something called the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations?

A: Yes, I have.

Q: Do you know whether the SWP was ever on that list?

A: Yes, we were placed on that list when it was first promulgated.

Q: Do you remember when that was?

A: It would have been in 1948, I think in the spring. . . .

Q: Are you aware of whether or not the SWP made any efforts to forestall the Attorney General from including the SWP on the list of subversive organizations?

A: No, I am sure that we did not make any such effort.

Q: Why didn't the SWP make any such efforts?

A: Because we didn't know anything about it until one day we picked up here in New York where I was, The New York Times, which announced that we had been stigmatized as subversive on a list published by the Attorney General.

Q: Did the SWP protest its inclusion on the list?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you personally make any form of protest?

A: Yes.

Q: How did you do this?

A: I sent a letter to the Attorney General, calling upon him either to remove the name of our party from the subversive list or to grant us a hearing contesting the action.



Dobbs meeting with Leon Trotsky in Mexico in 1940. 'He talked about the progressive main stages of the evolution of social organization in history—the slave stage, the feudal stage, the capitalistic stage. . . . I said I can't conceive how there could be anything progressive about the slavery system. . . . He called to my attention that prior to the advent of the slave system . . . it had been the habit of warring tribes to eat their captives. And he said, "It is, after all, infinitely more progressive to be a slave in the field than it is to be a roast on the dinner table."'

Q: Do you recall making any other form of protest?

A: I think I sent one, possibly two letters, to the President, making the same protest and asking the same things.

Q: Did you do anything publicly to protest the designation?

A: Yes. As soon as we were listed we held a press conference and denied what we considered a slanderous attack upon us and publicly repeated this demand that we had made in writing to the Attorney General—that we would be glad for a hearing. We protested the whole thing as an invasion of people's constitutional rights. During the presidential campaign, I spoke on many occasions in the following months in opposition to this action.

Q: Did you bring any legal challenge to the designation at that time?

A: No, we did not.

Q: Why not?

A: Such attorneys as we were able to consult told us that in the political

atmosphere then prevailing that we would not have any prospects of getting anywhere with such an action.

Q: Did there come a time later when you made efforts to get the SWP removed from the Attorney General's list?

A: Yes.

Q: What year was that?

A: That would have been in 1953. I think in the spring.

Q: Had anything occurred to prompt you to make another attempt?

A: Yes. Shortly after the Eisenhower administration was installed, after the 1952 elections, an announcement was made that organizations that had been placed on the Attorney General's subversive list earlier would be afforded an opportunity to ask for a hearing.

Q: How did you learn about this?

A: We read it in the daily papers.

Q: Did you request a hearing?

A: Yes, we did.

Q: Did you make the request in a timely way?

A: Yes, as soon as we knew about it.

Q: In what form did you make the request?

A: As I recall, I sent a letter to the Attorney General requesting the hearing.

* * *

Q: Did you bring a legal challenge to this action by the Attorney General refusing a hearing to the Socialist Workers Party on its inclusion on the Attorney General's list?

A: Not at that time.

Q: Why not?

A: As had been the case in 1948, when we talked to lawyers about it, they said there was still no prospect of our winning a fight of that kind. I would call your attention, moreover, that in 1953 the country was reaching the height of the McCarthy era of witch-hunting and so we were unable to do anything.

Q: What effect, if any, did the inclusion of the Socialist Workers Party on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations have on you?

A: As a presidential candidate, for example, I found in touring the country and holding press conferences that somebody would make it a point to ask if we were on a subversive list. It was bound to turn up in whatever was written about us in the paper, more often than not. It scared people away from us. It made them hesitant to have any interest in us in any way. It was in that sense injurious to our prospects of reaching people and talking to them in an open-minded way.

Q: To your knowledge, has the SWP ever been removed from the Attorney General's list?

A: No.

List discontinued

Q: Do you know whether the Attorney General's list is still in existence?

A: I think it was formally discontinued by President Nixon, I believe in 1974-'73 or '74.

Q: What effect, if any, did the discontinuance of the Attorney General's list have on the Socialist Workers Party?

A: It had a disadvantageous effect upon us.

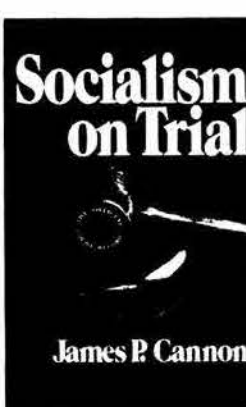
Q: In what sense?

A: It hurt us in the sense that the underlying directive for FBI investigation of so-called subversives remained standing. The government did not state that it had determined that we were not subversive. We were left with no way of attempting to restore our name and reputation.

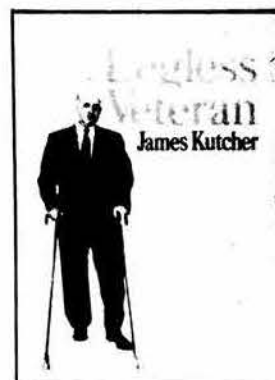
Workers' Rights versus The Secret Police



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Why they support this fight...

Lou Antal

**Former president,
United Mine Workers
District 5**

"... We should not allow anybody to take anybody's freedom from them. If this trial and this suit deals with the subject of freedom, then regardless of one's political beliefs we should fight to preserve their freedom."

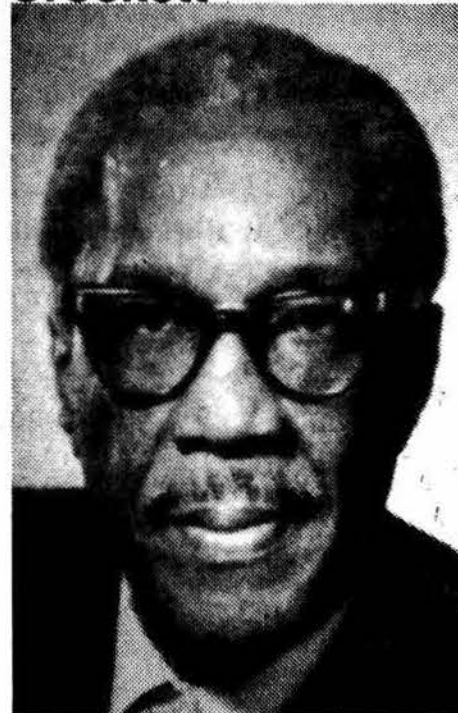
Dick Gregory



"I'm glad the Socialist Workers Party has carried the fight through to the end and not faltered, but has gotten stronger and stronger. There are a lot of people that the government can appeal to with money but I thank God the Socialist Workers Party is not one of them. I welcome the trial of the Socialist Workers Party suit against the FBI and CIA because it will help uncover the truth about the whole spy apparatus. We have a right to know what the government is doing to us and what it has already done to us—to Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., for example.

"For years the government has tried to suppress the ideas of anyone who tries to bring about a more humane cooperative society. This trial and this suit are being carried out on behalf of every person who is part of that fight. I pray and thank God for you."

U.S. Rep. George Crockett



"I am informed that in its pretrial documents, the Justice Department has asserted the right to 'investigate' and 'keep itself informed of' the legal political activities of any group or individual. This position threatens the democratic rights of all people in this country.

"In supporting this lawsuit, I am mindful of the Cointel-programs of the FBI and other government agencies directed against me and others who have supported the struggles for human rights.

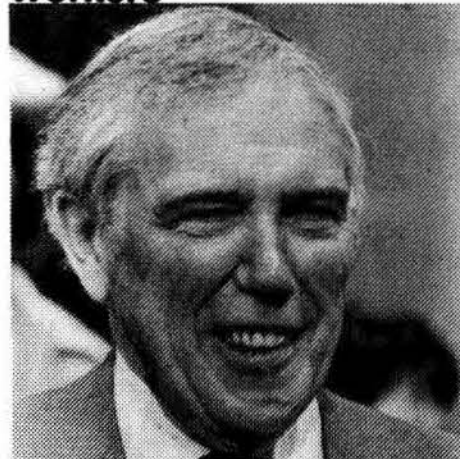
"I am pleased to join with thousands of concerned voices in calling upon the Attorney General to end all illegal practices against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance."

We were persecuted in what could roughly be called a legal way; that is, we were accused of specific crimes, such as contempt of Congress. . . . It now becomes very apparent in the last decade that when the McCarthy period seemed to be fading away that what actually the government agencies were doing was switching from [the] so-called open, semi-legal front to completely illegal activities against progressive organizations. This is probably an even greater menace to freedom of speech than what we were fighting thirty years ago.

Statement by Ring Lardner, Jr., member of Hollywood Ten, at April 2 press conference for socialist suit.



Douglas Fraser president, United Auto Workers



"In a free society, political parties and their members should not be spied upon and harassed by government agencies.

"The fact that the causes espoused by a specific party may be unpopular or controversial should have no bearing on its constitutional right to operate.

"Police state tactics are not only unconstitutional but are abhorrent to the spirit of a free and democratic country and should not be tolerated."

Morton Sobell Rosenberg case defendant

"With Haig and Reagan orchestrating their 'anti-terrorism' cacophony, it becomes ever more important to expose the lawlessness of the establishment so the people can see the FBI in all its nakedness which I'm sure this trial will do."

Edward Clinch director, International Association of Machinists, District 98

"I think it is wrong for the CIA and FBI to harass people for their ideas. Everybody has a right to express their thoughts. There shouldn't be any harassment or penalties for political expression. It's wrong for any government agency, state, federal or local, to muzzle their critics or abridge anyone's Constitutional rights."

Michael Harrington chair, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee



"I continue my support of this suit. It is un-American in the extreme for government agencies to spy on the political activities of dissident groups. This suit has been extremely valuable for all Americans because it has helped expose and curtail such illegal practices."

Daniel and Philip Berrigan



"There is every indication that the dirty tricks of Cointelpro have never been and are not at present inhibited by the law of the land. . . . [The Socialist Workers Party] is fighting back with persistence and dignity. The legal battle presently under way is, we believe, being fought on behalf of every unscripted conscience in America."

Jules Feiffer

"Considering the results of the 1980 elections, this suit takes on added importance. . . . A satisfactory resolution of the SWP lawsuit will provide a vital legal safeguard—and God, do we need it—against intrusions on our civil liberties by a new generation of spies, provocateurs, and plumbers."

Alice Peurala president, United Steelworkers Local 65



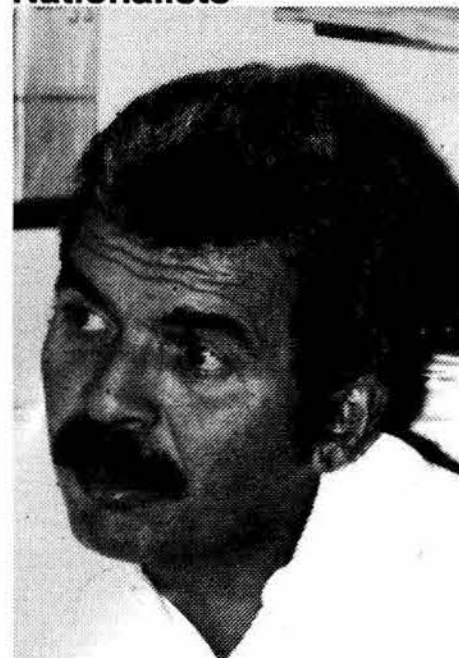
"As a longtime activist in the labor movement and the civil rights movement, I feel strongly that all political organizations must have the absolute right to function in a free society.

"I am reminded of the fierce struggle waged in the early days of the labor movement against local and state police as the workers determined to organize their union.

"Our citizens must have the right of political expression, without harassment and oppression from agents of the federal government. For the foregoing reasons I support your suit in defense of the Bill of Rights."

Rafael Cancel Miranda

**of the five Puerto Rican
Nationalists**



"As a Puerto Rican who defends the rights of my people I support the suit of the Socialist Workers Party against the repressive agencies of the FBI and CIA. This fight is of concern to all of us."

Edith Tiger director, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

"The revelations that this suit made were instrumental in making the American people aware of the unconstitutional conduct of the FBI for so many years. We believe that in the coming court case there will be many more dirty tricks uncovered. My commitment from the beginning of this suit will remain until we are finally victorious."

Jailed for strikes, for telling truth

Conditions inside an El Salvador prison

The following article by Damien Kingsbury appeared in the March 20 issue of the Melbourne 'Age,' one of Australia's major daily newspapers.

SAN SALVADOR, 19 March—The Santa Tecla jail for political prisoners is a grim place. From the outside all that is visible are the high walls, painted a light blue over chipped plaster.

The entrance to the prison is an armor-plated door with a small peep-hole. The door is eventually swung open after a study of identification papers.

Inside, several prison guards stand armed with rifles of unknown manufacture. Then it is through another armored door and into the office of the prison commandant. The prison is dark and the odor musty.

The commandant forbids cameras or tape recorders. He is even surprised that a reporter has been allowed to enter the prison, but on verifying the source of the permission (the Minister, Colonel Guillermo Garcia), he is reasonably helpful with facts and figures.

Six to a cell

The prison records show that there are 125 prisoners here. All are political prisoners. They represent various sections of the community, including the media, the trade unions and the schools and universities. I am allowed through to see the prisoners. They live four or six to a cell and are allowed out to a common area during the day. The common area is cramped, the facilities for cooking and the personal hygiene are primitive, but the men here spend a lot of time trying to make their environment as habitable as possible.

As many of the prisoners here represent the intellectual strata of El Salvadoran society, they are allowed to be fairly self-governing, within the confines of the space allotted to them and the hours they are allowed out of their cells. They make use of this limited freedom to organize activities, to help each other and to continue to work, in a limited way, in their pre-prison professions. That is, of course, where they have not been outlawed.

The following interviews with the three main groups represented in the prison was through a chemical engineer who spoke several languages. He was the owner of a successful small business before being imprisoned.

Journalists

Francisco Ramirez Avelar of 'El Independiente' newspaper, which has been closed, and Guillermo Diaz Ramos of the International Press Agency, were charged with subversive activity.

Speaking through the interpreter they said: "The principal political crime that we were charged with was that of being middlemen between the media and the guerillas. We deny that charge." They and three women reporters, including the owner of a newspaper, have yet to be brought before a court.

They said: "We were blind-folded and handcuffed and had guns poked into our chests when answering questions before a military judge. We are not criminals. We have not committed any political crimes. We do not know why we are here."

Questioned further, they said they believed they had been imprisoned because "we were working with the opposition media. We were being honest, we were telling the truth. In El Salvador reporters cannot tell of the authorities killing people."

They said they did not consider telling the truth to be an adequate reason for being imprisoned.

The discussion turned to prison conditions. They said: "We are locked up at 6 pm and are made to sleep with the lights on. We are under constant surveillance. The guards abuse us, they insult us and beat us and aim their rifles through the bars of the cell doors."



Salvador rebels being taken prisoner. Those sent to Santa Tecla jail face abuse and torture.

A listener to the conversation went away and returned with a man in his mid-20s. He was a high school teacher before being arrested. He said most of the teachers were now dead. Then he showed what the authorities had done to him.

Across his arms, legs, body and face, large areas of flesh were laid bare where, he said, interrogators had thrown sulphuric acid on him in an attempt to get a confession.

Fortunately, one of the prisoners here was a lecturer in medicine at the university and, with the poor facilities available, helped to clean up his gaping wounds.

Electric shock

The journalists said they received electrical shocks and beatings (as does everyone at Santa Tecla from time to time) but most of the torture was psychological.

The interpreter then said: "They gave me hallucinogenic drugs for 48 hours. It sent me crazy for a week. You will help me to still be alive in two months if you can publish my name in the Press of other countries."

The journalists said the prisoners received little food or supplies from the Government. "If you see us healthy it is because our families give us food. The wealthy people help the poor in this jail."

Despite the reasonable well-being of most of the prisoners, many were suffering from ailments caused by the unhygienic conditions and inadequate diet.

"On visiting day the police park their cars outside the prisons and they treat our families badly so they get afraid and don't visit. This is to demoralise the prisoners," the journalists said.

"The only reason they treat us this well is because we went on a hunger strike and they were concerned that we would all die together."

"They have been more careful over the past two months because of the international Press. The whole world is watching."

The names of El Salvadoran martyrs are painted over cell doors. I was told they were put there by earlier political prisoners, most of whom were now dead.

The journalists said that before they were arrested, seven news people had been killed. They mentioned a production manager of the now extinct paper 'La Cronica' and a photographer who were found chopped into small pieces after being kidnapped last July.

The popular opinion in El Salvador is that the people who commit these types

of crimes, the "paramilitary," are soldiers in civilian dress, but the two journalists would not say this. A sentence of death comes from such a statement.

They said that at about the same time that 'La Cronica' was closed, the offices of the 'Independiente' newspaper and the Catholic Church radio station YSAX were blown up.

"All opposition newspapers are now closed," they said. Some of the prisoners held here were printers and secretaries at the newspapers before they were closed. "They had no responsibility for the content of the papers."

They said the "revolutionary junta" had tried to modify the agrarian sector and the banking sector but had failed.

In the agrarian sector the National Democratic Organisation [ORDEN], similar in style to the Nazis, is preferred by about 60 percent of the big and middle farmers. "Violence and repression increased with this failure. They are mostly illiterate and those who can read are often ignorant of the injustice here."

The journalists made a final appeal. "We have only one means of salvation here—the international Press."

Unionists

Most of the unionists in the prison

were members of the [executive committee of the union of hydroelectric workers]. This union represents the workers of the privately owned monopoly of the supply of electricity in El Salvador. Present were the general secretary of the union as well as four undersecretaries and other members.

They are in jail for a strike which disrupted electrical supplies in El Salvador for 24 hours.

They told me the linesmen had to work with 115,000 volts running through live wires. They were being paid about \$A65 [US\$76] a week for this very dangerous job. The union held discussions which resulted in 18 unionists being murdered in front of their families or workmates and a further 30 being dismissed.

Through an interpreter they said: "Then the Government declared the union unconstitutional. They also said, under decree 296, that we cannot talk about political subjects in any way, which includes workers' rights and the deaths of workers. This also included newspapers. That is when we went on strike."

The unionists were given the same sort of trial as the journalists but the disturbing thing about their case is that all documentation about it has been "lost" and that they no longer officially exist."

In El Salvador, such a situation has very ominous overtones. But as they were "true to the cause of the workers", they did not hesitate to discuss the politics of the country.

"This Government does not represent the people. This Government does not exist according to the constitution of El Salvador," they said.

Unions can't organize

"Repression is the first quality of this Government because this Government is not able to resolve the problems of this country by peace. The liberty of forming unions is no longer present. Most of the leaders of other unions are now political prisoners at other centres."

"Many unionists at the present time are either missing or dead. Including the teachers' union, several thousand have disappeared. The teachers suffer a lot from the Government. Most of the people you will find killed in the streets and the countryside are teachers."

The unionists went on: "We feel that the Democratic Revolutionary Front is the only representative of the people and their interests. We would like you to send a message to all of the workers, unionists and people in your country."

Continued on next page



FIDEL CASTRO

Main Report

Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba

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...prison

Continued from preceding page

We hope you sympathise with us in our situation."

Most of the unionists are not allowed to see their families on visiting day. All managed to smile and give me warm handshakes, although it is very likely that they will soon be dead.

Seven professors and a former employee of the university in San Salvador were the next group I spoke to. They were very suspicious that I might be a Government agent and questioned me closely before allowing me to question them. They included the director of the university, the head of the medical faculty, the head of the economics faculty and the head of the law faculty.

They said: "The real charge against us is that we belong to the consul of the university. This is the last action (by the Government) in regard to the university as it is now closed."

"The campaign against the university was begun with the second junta, that is, the present one."

There had been systematic persecution, kidnapping and assassination of professors and students of the university. Hundreds of students and many professors have been assassinated.

The university had been surrounded by soldiers, who fired on it, killing many people.

Explosives had been detonated against the wall of the auditorium while

there were students in it and the library was destroyed in a bazooka attack.

There was then the final assault on 26 June last year when the university was totally occupied by the troops. The result was 40 deaths. There had been no resistance to the troops by students or the faculty.

All of the equipment in the university had either been destroyed or stolen and then sold by the soldiers. A junta commission put the cost of the destruction and theft at about \$A7 million, but it is thought to have been more.

On 26 October last year the previous director of the university and president of the International University Service based in Geneva, Felix Antonio Ulla, was taken about 100 metres from the university and assassinated by the paramilitary.

A senior academic was arrested while attending a reunion to mark the beginning of a new semester.

They said: "We were not working in political activity, we were working on university business. No charge can be considered against us within the constitution of this country."

The professors claimed that after they were arrested soldiers went to their homes and intimidated their families and said they had found weapons there.

"There was no explanation for our arrest," they said. "We have not appeared before a court."

They said it had been decided that all employees of the university will not receive any further salaries. "But we are still working with the same responsibilities from inside the jail."



Neils Astrup

Salvadorans hide from government bullets on San Salvador street. Journalists who print truth about repression there often wind up in Santa Tecla.

New deaths in Atlanta underscore cop inaction

By Tom Fiske

ATLANTA—The bodies of two more Black youths have been found here. A third youth is missing.

The body of Timothy Hill, thirteen, was discovered March 30. He was reported missing March 14. A former teacher received two calls from Hill after he disappeared, appealing for help.

However, Atlanta police insisted on treating his case as a routine runaway. After all, they said, there were rumors in the media of his having been seen by neighbors and friends.

Eddie Duncan, twenty-one, was first reported missing March 20. The retarded youth, oldest of the victims, was a resident of the Techwood Homes Housing Project. On the day he disappeared, sixty additional cops had been sent to the Techwood area to intimidate the community patrol that some residents had set up to watch their children. The cops stopped the patrol,

but not the snatching of Eddie Duncan.

Larry Rodgers, another mentally retarded Black youth, is now missing.

In the face of the growing toll, city officials, the cops, and the big-business media have had little outrage to spare for the racist killers. They have been too busy denouncing all who give voice to the growing anger in the Black community over the grossly inadequate police investigation.

Defending the police decision to classify Timothy Hill as an ordinary runaway, the *Atlanta Journal* charged critics with "an attempt to blame police for his death. . . . The police have enough trouble coping with the task at hand without having to withstand the pressure of unjust criticism."

For the *Journal*, the "task at hand" has a lot more to do with keeping the lid on the Black community than with ending the terror against Black children.

Solidarity with Central America



and the Caribbean

Labor solidarity with El Salvador

In Virginia, Minnesota, on the Mesabi Iron Range, there will be a rally on April 11 demanding an end to U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta. Speakers include: Joe Samargia, president of United Steelworkers Local 1938; Rep. James Oberstar; Bishop Paul Anderson, Catholic diocese of Duluth; and Sr. Cecilia Corcoran, a Franciscan missionary who spent eleven years in El Salvador.

Endorsers include: the Iron Range Labor Assembly; Iron Range Council of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers; Roger Klander, president of USWA Local 6115; Pete Lamusga, president, Communication Workers Local 7202; USWA Local 1938; mayors of six Iron Range towns; two state senators; and figures from the religious community.

The rally will be at the Miners Memorial Hall in Virginia at 2 p.m. Cleveland State University will hold a two-day conference on El Salvador April 11 and 12.

A panel discussion concerning the U.S. labor movement and the struggle for land reform in El Salvador will include John Haberle, chief information officer, American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

A Saturday evening forum will feature a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front; George Wald, Nobel laureate, who presided over the recent Bertrand Russell Tribunal in Mexico; Rep. Dennis Eckart; and a representative of the International Association of Machinists.

For more information, readers can call: (216) 651-6773; 252-0440; or 932-7223.

Young Socialists send aid to Grenada

The following news release was released by the Government Information Service of Grenada on March 18:

"A few days ago a gift of typewriters arrived in Grenada for the Centre for Popular Education. The machines were donated by the Young Socialist Alliance of the USA through the NJM [New Jewel Movement] National Youth Organization (NYO).

"The gift was as a result of talks between a representative of the NYO, Brother Ken Lewis, Central Committee member, and the Young Socialists last December at the Congress of the YSA when the two organisations formally established relations.

"On Saturday, March 14, NYO Central Committee members held discussions with a number of overseas youth organisations who come to the country as guests of the Festival of the Revolution. Following these meetings it was announced that the youths of the New Jewel Movement will host a conference in Grenada in September this year organised by the World Federation of Democratic Youth of which the NYO is a member. This conference will be held in solidarity with the youth and people of Grenada and a number of delegates from the Caribbean and Europe are expected to attend. The meetings with the foreign youth bodies took in talks, discussions on a range of issues including the problem of communications between the organisations."

Northern Cal. 2 to 1: No aid to Salvador

According to a call-in poll recently conducted by the *San Francisco Chronicle* 68 percent of northern Californians polled answered yes to the question: *Should the U.S. stop sending military aid to El Salvador?* This represents 14,326 callers out of a total survey of 21,154. More than fifteen people a minute called in.

An Oakland printer felt that the Reagan administration's support of the Salvadoran junta could lead to "something an awful lot like Vietnam where we also had no business being."

A Mission district medical student, twenty-four, said he was "bitterly opposed" to U.S. military aid that might lead to his being drafted. "I don't want to end up in some war on the side of a repressive government and economic interests that support ultra-right-wingers like those death squad assassins."

Significantly, he and other callers felt that reports of "all the help" given El Salvador guerrillas by Cuba and Nicaragua are "greatly exaggerated, if not outright CIA propaganda."

As a Sausalito teacher who had once visited El Salvador explained, "The problems of poverty are so terrible in El Salvador that the guerrillas have no trouble finding support among the people."

Crusade supports Salvador struggle

The Crusade for Justice, a Denver-based Chicano rights group, held a press conference in Denver on March 17 to affirm their support for the people of El Salvador.

Rodolfo "Corky" González, chairman of the Crusade, explained that the Chicano people are subject to racism and persecution because "we are identified with the struggling peoples of Mexico and South America and because despite the odds—we will survive."

—Margaret Jayko

Consul general tours Bay Area

Grenada: 'shining example in Caribbean'

By Sara Gates

SAN FRANCISCO—Joseph Kanute Burke, consul general to North America from Grenada, toured the Bay Area March 27-31. He had just returned from his country's celebration of the second anniversary of its revolution.

The tour was sponsored by the Bay Area chapter of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society.

Speaking before an audience of more than 100 at the University of California at Berkeley, Burke described the mood of the Grenadian people. He said that the elation that was present at the first-year celebration was still there. But "our people have realized the increased threats on our revolution. They have a new stance of greater resolution, commitment, and sacrifice, and are intent on remaining a shining example in the Caribbean and throughout the entire world."

Burke explained some of the difficulties that the revolution faces due to inherited poverty. "We know we have a steep, uphill battle. But we have been

making tremendous strides. Our new international airport is an example. There will be 6,000 feet of runway ready by the end of the year, so production is ahead of schedule."

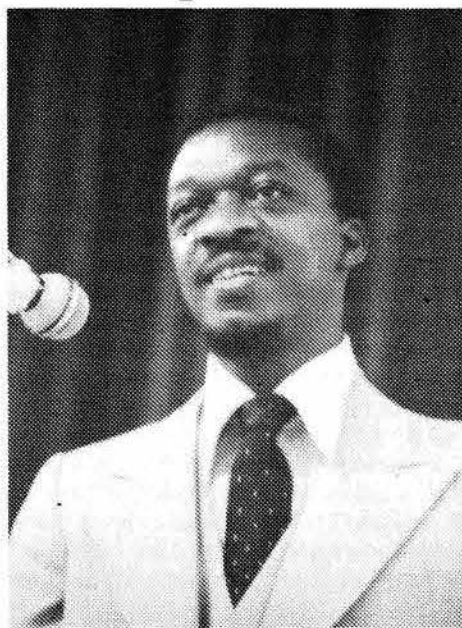
Burke described the advances in the area of health. By eight months after the revolution there was free medical care, including the first free eye clinic ever in the country.

He cited the help received from various friendship societies in the United States, Cuba, and Canada, and pointed out that the society in London supplied all the beds in the maternity wing in one hospital.

He reported that the first stage of Grenada's literacy campaign had been successful, with eighty teachers traveling up and down the country.

Burke emphasized, "We are determined to have self-determination in the Caribbean, but we know warmongering will increase." He urged continuing solidarity efforts.

Shown at the meeting for the first time in the Bay Area was the recently



JOSEPH KANUTE BURKE

completed movie *Grenada: Nobody's Backyard*. Through interviews with people in Grenada, it illustrates the

progress the revolution has brought to the lives of all.

Messages of solidarity were given by Carlos Vela, Casa El Salvador; Regis Cabral, East Bay Nicaragua Solidarity Committee; and Peggy Handler of the Guatemala News Information Bureau.

Consul General Burke was featured at a well-attended reception in San Francisco, sponsored by Rep. Ron Dellums; Aura Vetega, Nicaraguan consul general in San Francisco; Geraldine Johnson, chapter president, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; State Assemblyman Elihu Harris; Gretchen Mackler, coordinator, Bay Area U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society; John George, Alameda County supervisor; and others.

Burke also spoke at a meeting sponsored by the San José Nicaragua Solidarity Committee.

He received an official city welcome from several San Francisco supervisors, spoke at three classes in a Black high school in Oakland, and was interviewed by several local radio stations.

...aid cutoff

Continued from back page

fied its power with the support the U.S. government always offered. In any case, the loans we received represented only a small first installment of the huge bill that the U.S. owes us."

In a separate statement the same day, the National Directorate of the FSLN explained, "While they are cutting off our credit, cutting off our bread, and threatening a country trying to recover from the wounds of Somozaism... the very same U.S. government is introducing into the Caribbean and Central America vast quantities of arms, military supplies, and military personnel."

The statement, read by Commander Bayardo Arce, coordinator of the FSLN Political Commission, went on, "We have been trying to construct a society that is truly independent—with a genuinely popular orientation and the participation of all sectors—beginning only with the ruins we inherited from Somozaism. The U.S. government's aggression serves to sabotage this great national effort, to hold back our people's free exercise of the

right to sovereignty conquered at the cost of so much of our own blood."

The junta's statement explained that although Nicaragua had sought "stable and positive" relations with the United States, Nicaragua was instead threatened with new armed aggression being organized on U.S. territory.

"Today, once again a small and poor American country has started down the difficult road of constructing its own destiny based on progress and happiness," the FSLN statement said. "Once again, imperialism threatens, pressures, and carries out aggressions to obstruct these efforts."

The FSLN appealed to "democratic and progressive governments and to all the world's peoples to energetically repudiate the unjust, offensive, and dangerous action" by Washington.

The government noted that it was preparing international denunciations of the U.S. aid cutoff, including at the United Nations, the Organization of American States, and the organization of Nonaligned countries.

"The suspension of U.S. loans will undoubtedly have a negative effect on the economic goals we have set," the FSLN statement said, "but we are absolutely convinced that our people

are ready to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to insure our sovereignty and independence."

The reaction of the overwhelming majority of the Nicaraguans—workers, small and medium agricultural producers, students, and women—has been to close ranks behind the revolution. "We will never give in to anybody or anything," one worker told the FSLN daily, *Barricada*.

A concrete response the FSLN has proposed is the strengthening of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs), which are organized on the block and neighborhood level. In a speech to 2,000 members of Managua's CDSs April 1, Omar Cabeza proposed that the committees begin to exercise revolutionary vigilance—that is, begin to take on responsibility for combating terrorist activities.

In addition, the Revolutionary Patri-

otic Front (a grouping of prorevolutionary political parties that includes the FSLN) and the Trade-Union Coordinating Committee of Nicaragua (which includes all of the country's major trade-union federations) are circulating a protest petition. The petition, called the "Letter of Dignity and Sovereignty," denounced the U.S. government's action and appealed for worldwide solidarity against imperialist attacks. The petition will be circulated in factories and neighborhoods.

There has been international criticism of the U.S. action. The Mexican daily *El Dia* condemned it, and the Canadian government announced that it would continue its programs of aid to Nicaragua. A group of thirty Americans living here protested outside the U.S. embassy April 3, in an action that received widespread publicity.

From Intercontinental Press



Nicaraguan literacy brigade volunteers

SWP candidate for L.A. mayor denounces Nicaraguan aid cutoff

The following is a statement by Jim Little, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles and member of United Transportation Union Local 1770.

What a travesty of justice! What blackmail.

The United States government steps up its millions of dollars in aid to the military junta in El Salvador—a government responsible for the deaths of 10,000 people in the last year.

And it cuts off economic aid and wheat credits to the Sandinista government of Nicaragua—a government that is teaching tens of thousands to read, that has launched a massive health campaign to improve the lives of its people.

What was the rationale for the aid cut-off? Senator Jesse Helms, Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, claims Nicaragua is contributing to "violence" in El Salvador.

But the violence in El Salvador does not come from Nicaragua. It is the Salvadoran military junta, backed by the U.S. government, that is carrying out the wholesale slaughter of thousands in El Salvador.



JAMES LITTLE

I urge every supporter of human rights, every supporter of trade union rights, every person opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America, to speak out against this decision. And I urge all supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution to join with Casa Nicaragua of Los Angeles and its supporters in the solidarity demonstration it has called for May 3.



Saves peeling too—Responding to angry public responses over disclosure that millions of oranges are being left to rot to maintain prices, an Agriculture Department spokesperson observed, "Oranges are not an essential food. People don't need oranges. They can take vitamins."

Better than life insurance—Canada's Export Development Corporation, which provides insurance for investors in foreign countries, ran an ad headed, "Sure, I'd like to invest

abroad—but what if there's a revolution?"

Doing what comes naturally—Proposing to cut back or scrap programs intended to conserve energy, the Reagan administration said such programs were unnecessary "because the market forces freed by decontrol of oil prices will naturally encourage oil conservation."

Equally natural—Decontrolling oil prices may "naturally" encourage conservation by inducing people to heat their homes less, and drive less, but it's not all negative. For instance, the two

top officers of Mobil "earned" \$1.5 million and \$1.2 million respectively last year.

City planners—The people who manage the New York subway system may not know how to keep the trains running, but they apparently do have a sense of humor. They are planning a special study of possible equipment to keep the subway power center operating in the event of a nuclear attack.

Now will you brush your teeth?—Responding to a federal study which found that snuff dipping signifi-

cantly increases the risk of mouth cancer, the Tobacco Institute responded that the researchers failed to take into account other factors such as diet and dental hygiene.

Thought for the week—"WASHINGTON, April 2—The federal program that helped organize the sophisticated emergency treatment system into which President Reagan and three others wounded in Monday's assassination attempt were channeled would be terminated under the president's budget-cutting proposals."—News item.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

The Easter rebellion

Easter 1916 was the start of a rebellion in Ireland. Rebel forces supporting Irish independence marched on Dublin. Their proclamation declaring an Irish Republic inspired the masses fighting British rule.

The rebel forces grew to thousands. But after a week of hard fighting, the rebellion was crushed, leaving 3,000 casualties, and was followed by wholesale executions of its leaders.

Below are excerpts from an account by David Frankel on the Irish nationalist struggle. It appeared in the 'Militant' soon after the January 30, 1972, Bloody Sunday massacre that left thirteen civilians dead when British paratroopers opened fire on a peaceful demonstration in Northern Ireland.

The conflict in Northern Ireland today stems from and is part of the overall resistance of the Irish people to English domination of their country and the injustices—such as the massacre in Derry on January 30—that have accompanied that domination. It is not essentially a religious conflict between Catholics and Protestants, but rather the struggle of an oppressed nationality for full equality and the right of self-determination.

From the time of the earliest conquests, the land was held by settlers loyal to the English monarchy. Land was confiscated from the Irish who lived on it and was given to the solidiers of the conquering armies.

The Dublin parliament had been abolished in

1801 when Ireland was annexed to the United Kingdom and the direct rule of the Westminster parliament established.

The question of home rule for Ireland polarized Irish, and much of English, politics from 1885, when the first home rule bill was introduced to Parliament by Gladstone, until the struggle for Irish independence in 1916-22.

The Unionist Party, which has ruled Northern Ireland since 1921, took its name from its opposition to home rule.

To the Protestant minority in Ireland, home rule meant the domination of the Catholic majority.

In the beginning of 1913, the Ulster Volunteer Force was formed. It was a centralized, Unionist military organization. In April of 1914, the UVF was successful in smuggling into Ireland 25,000 rifles and 3,000,000 rounds of ammunition in one ship alone.

As the extra-parliamentary struggle progressed, the strength of the nationalist forces favoring an independent Ireland grew. In 1913, the Irish Volunteers was formed in Dublin by people from the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Gaelic League, led by Patrick Pearse and Eoin MacNeill.

In this period also, the Irish Citizen Army was organized from striking workers in the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, led by James Connolly and Jim Larkin. However, the Unionist forces, much better armed and financed, had the support and collaboration of large sections of the British army's conservative officer corps.

Thus, a situation of incipient civil war existed in

Ireland when World War I began. Implementation of home rule was put off for the duration of the war.

Patrick Pearse, Eoin MacNeill, and James Connolly, who was a revolutionary socialist, led the left-wing of the nationalist movement in refusing support to England in the war.

It was Connolly and Pearse who organized and led the 1916 Easter rebellion, in which the insurrectionists held the center of Dublin for about a week. Both were executed by the British army after their surrender.

The heroic Easter uprising failed to spark a mass upsurge, but it had a deep impact on the Irish nation.

Although the Republic of Ireland won political independence in 1921, it is still economically dominated by British imperialism.

Democratic rights for the Catholic population in Ulster and the reunification of Ireland can only be achieved by breaking with British imperialism and mobilizing the masses of Irish people against it.

As James Connolly wrote in 1896: "The struggle for Irish freedom has two aspects: it is national and it is social. Its national ideal can never be realized until Ireland stands forth before the world a nation free and independent.

"It is social and economic, because no matter what the form of government may be, as long as one class owns as private property the land and instruments of labor from which all mankind derive their substance, that class will always have power to plunder and enslave the remainder of their fellow-creatures."

What's Going On

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

EL SALVADOR: PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE. Slide show. Panel with representatives of Phoenix Committee for Human Rights in El Salvador. Sat., April 25, 7:30 p.m. 1243 E. McDowell Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA

SAN FRANCISCO

UNION BUSTING AND BLUE SHIELD STRIKE. A benefit for strikers. Speakers: Susana Atwood, Amelia Pete, Office and Professional Employees Local 3. Fri., April 17, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

EVOLUTION VS. CREATIONISM. Speaker: Cliff Conner, Socialist Workers Party and frequent contributor to *International Socialist Review*. Fri., April 24, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

COLORADO

DENVER

DEFEND FRANCISCO MARTINEZ. Speakers: Rep-

resentatives of Kiko Martinez Defense Committee. Fri., April 17, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT

EVOLUTION VS. MORAL MAJORITY. Speakers: John Wood, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., April 19, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

IRON RANGE

'HARLAN COUNTY, U.S.A.' A film classic documentary of the United Mine Workers struggle for a union contract in Kentucky coalfields. Wed., April 15, 7:30 p.m. 1012 Second Ave. South, Virginia. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

EL SALVADOR: A COUNTRY IN CRISIS. Scenes of the brutal tyranny fostered by the military junta in El Salvador. Speaker: Tim Shadden, active member, Northern Minnesota Committee on El Salvador. Fri., April 24, 7:30 p.m. 1012 Second Ave. South, Virginia. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

TWIN CITIES

EL SALVADOR: THE NEXT VIETNAM? Videotape of PBS documentary. Sun., April 19, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

OHIO

CINCINNATI

WORK CAN BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH. Film showing: *Can't Take No More*, a history of the union fight for a safe and clean working environment. Panel discussion to follow. Sun., April 12, 7 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

TEXAS

SAN ANTONIO

IRISH FREEDOM FIGHT. Speakers: Jim Lavelle, Irish Northern Aid Committee (for identification only); others. Fri., April 17, 8 p.m. 1407 N. Flores. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 222-8398.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CRISIS IN TRANSPORTATION: Metro, Conrail,

Amtrak. Speakout with Brian Elam, member, United Transportation Union Local 1435; Javith Hamrock, New York delegation to American Agriculture Movement; Mona Nafsoos, member, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Thurs., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant N.W. (16th and Columbia). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

FAIRMONT

ATLANTA: STOP RACIST MURDERS. Speakers: DeAnn Rathbun, United Mine Workers, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh; Anita Trice, chair, Morgantown NAACP; Eddie White, United Mine Workers. Fri., April 17, 7:30 p.m. Fairmont Hotel, Jefferson St., Fairmont, W. Va. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

DEVLIN ON TV

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, leader in the fight to win political status for Irish prisoners, will appear on the "Tomorrow Show" Mon., April 13, 12:30 a.m.

he 'Big Generation'

The crisis of decaying paternalism inspires great activity in explaining the source of our problems. One such creation is an article intended in "The Futurist" magazine. The author, John Kettle, traces unemployment, crime, increased crime, and the housing shortage in Canada to too many babies being born between 1951 and '66.

"The Big Generation . . . has already wreaked havoc in our lives," he writes. These babies are now causing "rapidly rising house prices and apartment rents . . . pressures on police and welfare agencies, afflic problems."

Young people can't find jobs, he says, because there are too many young people. Violence has increased because there are too many adolescents to be violent and everyone knows that adolescence is a time of violence. The schools have deteriorated because there are too many students.

Better yet are Mr. Kettle's solutions to the problem of "The Big Generation." Unfortunately, "as a solution to the Big Generation's job problem, another baby boom is ready late." Oh.

"The most promising prospect for increasing the demand for goods and services is something that already shows some signs of appearing: increasing the number of households faster than the population." In other words, increasing the divorce rate.

Or: "Part-time work may be the generation's salvation. Its attitude to work is less committed, anyway."

Or: "We could abandon the notion of efficiency . . . Many industries could be made less

efficient, so that they would employ more people. . . ."

Or: "We could encourage large-scale emigration. . . ."

But the crucial question for this author is: how many children will "The Big Generation" have? "If the members of the generation decide to have many children . . . that would not only boost the economy but would reduce the number of women in the labor force, which might well generate full employment and even manpower shortages."

This doesn't seem likely though, because of the "visible anger against children" displayed by this generation. "Note the resentment at school taxes. Note the rapidly increasing number of cases of child abuse. . . . And [the fact that] the number of people who think 'it is perfectly all right to be married and to choose not to have children' rose to over 80% in 1976!"

While Mr. Kettle lays the blame for our present problems on the size of the "Big Generation" and its new-fangled ideas of personal freedom and women's rights, he also forecasts future problems when the generation grows older.

"Can we see, afar-off but getting closer, that mighty throng of Big Generation widows and pensioners, spry, blue-rinsed, sharp-elbowed, hurrying from hotel to hotel on week-long coach tours, terrorizing the resorts, making the corridors ring with their insomniac shouts and perambulations, eating all the breakfast before anyone else is up, crotchety, demanding, unshamable, with nothing to lose but their aches?"

I can't wait, myself.
Candace Wagner
Oakland, California

HI, I'M DAVID STOCKMAN. RONNY AND I HAVE PUT TOGETHER A WONDERFUL MAGAZINE FOR ALL YOU FOLKS AFFECTED BY OUR BUDGET CUTS!



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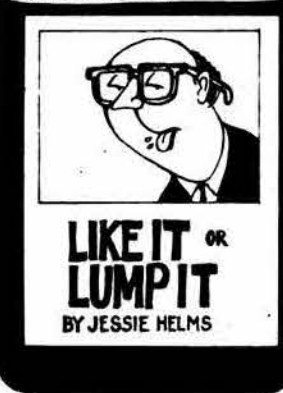
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huck



'Free to Choose'?

I would like to see one of your economics writers do a refutation of the ironically-titled *Free to Choose* by Milton Friedman.

If one has already appeared, it should run again now that the paperback edition is out.
Sherri Katz
Van Wert, Ohio

Needs 'Militant' bad

I'm sorry! I just can't live without it! I need a fix! Please send me three months of the *Militant* for the enclosed five-

dollar money order.

Every time I don't have the *Militant* I feel that there is something missing in my life. I just have to be kept abreast of the truth in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada.

I am a fool to think that I can depend upon the capitalist media. Well, anyway, I would certainly send you more money if I had it, but, as usual, I don't. So three months will have to suffice for now.

R.F.
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Africans. The African population represents over 80 percent of the prison population at Fort Pillow.

There is another matter which needs to be publicized. We are being threatened by the administration for wearing the black ribbons which symbolize our murdered children in Atlanta. Why?

A prisoner
Fort Pillow State Farm,
Tennessee

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

THE MILITANT is the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

IF YOU AGREE with what you've read, you should join us in fighting for a world without war, racism, or exploitation—a socialist world.

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SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Repression at Fort Pillow

In our attempt to bring a cultural/educational/political organization called the Alkebulan Association to camp Fort Pillow for prisoners of African descent, some of the organizers were locked down in the maximum-security unit B-I on fabricated charges.

We would like to bring these events to the eyes of the public, so as to gain support, because we don't want to be ignorant of our history, culture, and politics that will work for

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Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Zip: 35233.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 44 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, c/o Adam Shedroff, 1118 Room 284. Zip: 32601. Miami: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W. Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP,

YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA. Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorris St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (215) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1100 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, c/o Bill Donovan, 1240 E. Branch Rd. Zip: 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 1322, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 806 Elgin St. #1. Zip: 77006. Tel: (713) 524-8761. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 1406 N. Flores Rd. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 222-8398.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

THE MILITANT

Nicaragua aid cutoff an 'act of aggression' by U.S.

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—Once again rejecting the Reagan administration's charge that it is supplying arms to rebels in El Salvador, the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction declared April 2 that Washington's decision to cut off loans to Nicaragua was rooted in "the very existence of our revolution and its consolidation, because it shows the world—the poor and the humble—the real possibility of building a new country, a sovereign and independent country, and winning the respect of all worthy nations."

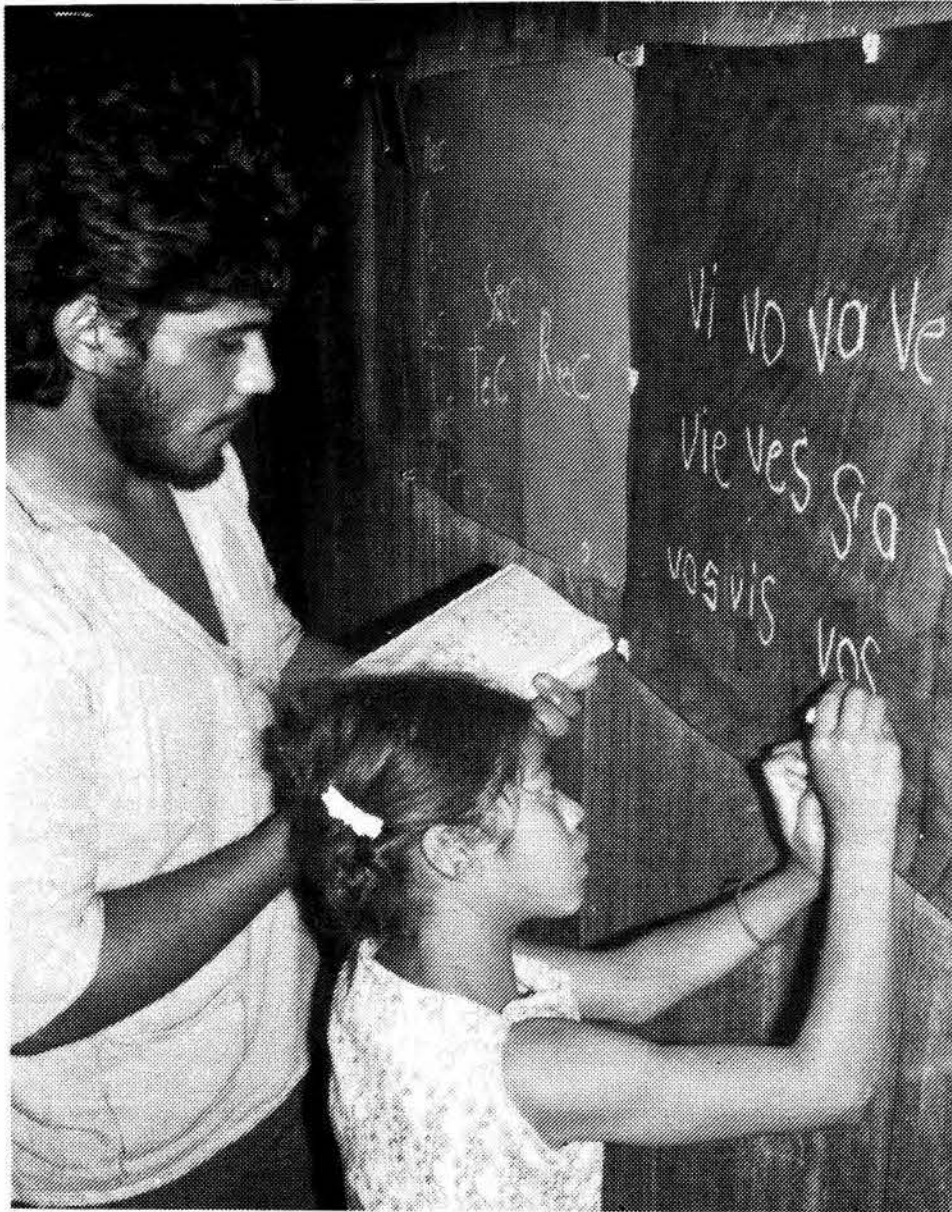
The day before, Washington terminated the remaining \$15 million in U.S. loans that had previously been pledged to Nicaragua. State Department spokesman William Dyess claimed that Nicaraguan "arms traffic may be continuing" to the El Salvador rebels and that "other support very probably continues."

Dyess stressed that "important United States security interests are at stake in the region."

This aid cutoff was "a true act of aggression against Nicaragua," declared Commander Daniel Ortega, the coordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction, in the April 2 statement. The statement was signed by all three members of the junta.

The statement went on, "We have never considered the economic cooperation offered by the United States in our reconstruction as a gift. We must remember that our country was impoverished through indiscriminate sacking by foreign companies and the greed of a family that protected itself and just-

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Nicaragua literacy campaign. Programs like this one will be hurt by U.S. cuts.

April 18 actions

April 18 marks the first anniversary of the founding of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador. The FDR is the broad opposition coalition that represents the majority of the Salvadoran people.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) has targeted April 18 as a day for national activities to get out the truth about the struggle in El Salvador, and to protest Washington's war threats.

Three leaders of the FDR will criss-cross the country on national speaking tours from April 18-24.

In New York City, April 18 will be marked by feeder marches from various parts of the city, converging on Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza at the United Nations. This emergency demonstration, organized by the April 18th Coalition on El Salvador, will demand U.S. Out of El Salvador! and No More Vietnams!

In Los Angeles, an April 18 CISPES-sponsored rally will be hosted by Ed Asner, well-known actor and star of the television series "Lou Grant."

For more information on April 18 activities in your area, and the tours of the FDR leaders, call CISPES in Washington, D.C., at (202) 887-5019.

April 4: thousands say 'Stop racist killers!'

By William Gottlieb

April 4, the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, was marked by rallies and demonstrations demanding that King's birthday be declared a national holiday and that racist violence against Black people be halted. Thousands participated, with the union movement taking a leading role in a number of cities.

On April 3 in Los Angeles, about 5,000 people, mostly Black youth, chanted, "Save the children!" in a march expressing solidarity with Atlanta's Black community. Speakers included Joseph Kanute Burke, Grenada's consul general for North America. The following day 1,000 gathered in Pershing Square. Representatives of the National Black Independent Political Party and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were among the speakers.

In Milwaukee, contingents from the Amalgamated Transit Workers, United Auto Workers, Allied Industrial Workers, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and International Association of Machinists set the tone for an antiracist rally of 500 people. UAW Local 72 in Kenosha sent a busload of participants.

Speakers included Secretary-Treasurer Earl Lepp of the Milwaukee County Labor Council; Joe Robison of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; James Lee, assistant director of United Auto Workers Region 10; Howard

Fuller, chair of the Coalition to Save North Division (High School); Daisy Cubias of the Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy; and others.

Union support was also prominent in New Orleans as ninety people gathered April 4 at the hall of Laborers Union Local 689. Sponsors included the A. Philip Randolph Institute; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1919; United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 1101; Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now; the Social Welfare Department of Southern University of New Orleans; and others.

The rally was chaired by Angie Celius of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and Rashaad Ali of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union. Speakers included Shirley Porter, president of the New Orleans NAACP; Conrad Abadie, representing the UFCW at the Amstar Sugar Refinery; Rev. Jerome Owens of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; James Ramsey, chair of the Civil Rights Committee of United Steelworkers Local 1300 at Kaiser Aluminum; Rev. Avery Alexander, national board member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Ntiesi Shishebe of the National Black Independent Political Party; and others.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, a contingent of members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers participated in a march of 125. In

Winston-Salem 125 people rallied against racist attacks, as did 150 in Raleigh.

The red, black, and green flag was carried at the head of a march through the streets of Brooklyn and Manhattan April 4, culminating in a rally of 2,000.

Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the Black United Front, which sponsored the action, declared at the rally that racist violence "is a violence which emanates from the White House."

"They spent hundreds of thousands of dollars for police to close Sydenham Hospital, then tell us they have no money," said Daughtry. "But they have money for El Salvador!"

Daughtry challenged government hostility to Grenada and Cuba: "Why are they so concerned about Grenada? It's because they have an idea in Grenada and in Cuba that is a thousand times stronger than a battleship: the idea that when the people get together—be they in Grenada, Cuba, or the United States—they can put an end to tyranny."

In Providence, Rhode Island, 150 people participated in a march and rally sponsored by the Providence chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party. In addition to protesting racist murders in Atlanta, it targeted local activities of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis. These have recently included painting swastikas on homes and desecrating Jewish cemeteries.

Speakers included Ray Rickman,

who was recently fired from his job at the Providence Human Relations Commission because he pursued court actions against police brutality.

Five hundred antiracist protesters marched through Pittsburgh's Black community that day. They rallied at the federal building, demanding "No more Atlantas!" The following day 500 people attended a memorial service. Camille Bell, mother of slain child Yusef Bell, and Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond were present.

And 300 people expressed their solidarity with Atlanta's Black community in a Charleston, West Virginia rally.

Labor backing May 25 march

ATLANTA, Ga.—The Committee to Stop Children's Murders here has called for a rally in Washington, D.C., on Memorial Day, May 25. The "Rendezvous for Life's Sake" will demand an end to the killing.

Signalling the growing recognition in the labor movement of the need for action against racist violence, the "Rendezvous for Life's Sake" has already gained the endorsement of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.